



Heinrichs and Sohn.

J.P. LeBar. Sculp.

*The Combat between the HORATII
and the CURIATII.*

Published Nov. 10. 1739, by J. & S. Knapton.

THE
ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE
FOUNDATION of ROME
TO THE
BATTLE of ACTIUM:

THAT IS,

To the End of the COMMONWEALTH.

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Translated from the FRENCH.

IN SIXTEEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

The SECOND EDITION.

Illustrated with Maps coloured, and Copper Plates.

LONDON.

Printed for **J. and P. Knapton**, in Ludgate-Street.

MDCCCLIV.

P R E F A C E.

WHEN a man attentively considers from what point the Roman power arose, and to what height it arrived, he is seized with astonishment, and dazzled as it were with the lustre and greatness of the events, and still more so with the causes which contributed to form that vast and superb empire. What was Rome in her beginnings but a confused mixture of shepherds, adventurers, men obscure and unknown, for the most part, whom the ill situation of their affairs, or the love of novelty, had united together within the narrow circuit of a poor and despicable city? And yet in her infancy, that is, under the government of Romulus, the first of her Kings, Rome began to command admiration and fear by the invincible courage of that prince, and his wise institutions, as well religious as civil and military. The rest of the Kings his successors, almost all of a different character, but admirably suited with one another to promote the same work by various methods, followed, all but the last, the plan chalked out by Romulus, and each adding some essential

*General
idea of the
history of
the Roman
republic
divided
into three
ages.*

part greatly advanced it to perfection. For observable (*a*), that almost all the principles of the Roman policy were established under the Kings, and that these principles afterwards were only displayed with greater force and extent.

The progress of the Romans abroad in these beginnings was very slow. (*b*) They struggled near two hundred and fifty years round their mother Rome against the neighbouring nations, who, one after another, attacking them, kept them continually in breath, and would have forced them to be expert in the art of war, though they had not been naturally that way inclined. They accomplished their subjection solely by patience and management, not so intent to conquer by force, as to gain by mildness; seeking (*c*) friends, not slaves, attaching for ever by a submission, not forced, but voluntary; and making it a common rule to deprive the vanquished only of the power of doing hurt.

(*a*) Cum à primoribus or-
to, regis institutis, patrum
etiam legibus, auspiciis, ce-
rimoniarum, comitiis, patrum
consilium, equitum pecuniam-
que descriptio, tota res mili-
taris divinitus esset constituta;
tum progressio admirabilis in-
credibilisque curis ad om-
nem excellentiam factus est
dominatu regio rep. liberata.
Tusc. Quest. l. 4. n. 1.

(*b*) Prima ætas sub regibus
fuit, propè ducentos quinquaginta

per annos, quibus cir-
cum ipsam matrem suam cum
sistitumis luctatus est. *Flor. in
Præl.*

(*c*) Ad hoc populo Roma-
no, à principio inopi, melius
vilius amicos, quam servos
querere; tutiusque rati vo-
lentibus, quam coactis, im-
peritare. *Sall. in bello Jug.*

Neque victis, quidquam
præter injuriæ licentiam eri-
piebant. *Id. in bello Catil.*

The second age of Rome, of near the same duration as the first, that is, two hundred and fifty years, abounding with great virtues and great men, exhibits prodigies of courage, firmness, wisdom, disinterestedness, and above all, of the love of ones country. . With such arms Rome learnt to contemn all the dangers, and surmount all the obstacles which stood in the way of her grandeur ; and after the reduction of all Italy, she saw herself in condition to extend her bounds, and carry her arms abroad.

What a scene of victories and conquests is opened in the third and last age of the Roman commonwealth, which holds but little more than two hundred years? Here commence the Punic wars, so obstinately maintained, that each of the two jealous nations believes their safety entirely depends on the destruction of the other. Rome, ready to sink, is supported chiefly in her distress by the steadiness and wisdom of her Senate. In the end, the Roman patience prevails, and Carthage is subdued. Her downfall was as the signal of the defeat of the rest of the nations, who all in their turn came under the yoke, and submitted to the Lords of the Universe.

By a close view of the chain and connection of the enterprizes and conquests of Rome, it is easy to see they were the effects of a plan formed in the beginning, pursued all along with a wonderful steadiness, and

conducted to its end by methods which never swerved from the point: a work certainly beyond human wisdom, as will hereafter appear. Rome under her Kings doubtless had not formed the design of conquering the world. But she was always animated by the same spirit; always eager to conquer, to rule; and always pursued the same principles to arrive at that end. It must however be confessed, that her hopes and designs were raised and enlarged but in proportion as her power increased.

This ought to be one of the principal objects of the study of the Roman history, because it is the soul of it, and because a view of the dates, facts, sieges, battles, and all the other events, if destitute of the knowledge of the secret springs which put all in motion, presents us, properly speaking, with only a skeleton, which has all the bones, nerves, and parts of the body, but is without life.

I shall endeavour in this preface briefly to describe the principal characters of the Romans, the rules of conduct on which their government was founded, and the means which most conduced to their greatness.

Political maxims and principal characters of the Romans.

Veneration for religion and the worship of the Gods.

THE ROMANS, from the origin and birth of their city, established as a fundamental principle of their polity the fear of the Gods, and a veneration for religion.

Hence those numerous temples, altars, sacrifices; hence the Auguries, Auspices, and so many kinds of divinations; hence those frequent

frequent vows made on pressing emergencies of the state, and so religiously performed : a certain proof (says (a) Seneca) of the existence of a Supreme Being, mindful of our wants. For what likelihood that all mortals, in all ages and in all countries, should have agreed in the folly of addressing continually to a deaf and impotent Deity, from whom no relief could be expected ? The Romans were mistaken in the object, but reasoned justly as to the thing. Convinced by good sense alone, or rather by the remains of natural religion, which cannot be entirely rooted out of the heart of man, that the Deity disposes every thing in the government of the world, and endow men, according to his good pleasure, with understanding, reason, prudence, fortitude, courage, and the other qualifications, on which depends the success of undertakings, it was fit they should implore the celestial power from whence flow all these blessings, and endeavour by religious consultations to discover the divine will, in order to merit its protection. Happy, if with such dispositions they had known the true God !

It is incredible what a strong impression in time was made upon their minds by this conviction of an omnipresent and omniscient

(a) Quod profectò non fieret, nec in hunc furorem illorum beneficia nunc ultro oblata nunc orantibus data. *Senec. de benef. l. 4. c. 4.*

Deity, deeply graven on the tender minds of children, by education, by instruction, by the discourses of parents, and especially by the sight of the public ceremonies. The sacredness of oaths, which are made as in the presence of the Deity, was no where regarded as at Rome. The soldiers, however displeased or enraged, dared not quit their generals, because they were bound to them by an oath. In a long course of ages, no man ever gave the Cenſor a wrong eſtimate of his effects. Religion curbed the ſtrongest paſſions, and rendered men more tractable and ſubmiſſive to lawful authority. It was the bond of ſtrict union between the citizens of the ſame city, between the ſubjects of the ſame ſtate. In a word, it was the moſt powerful motive that could be uſed to inſpire courage in battles and dangers.

Cicero gives his countrymen a glorious testimony upon this head. (*a*) “ We may
 “ flatter ourſelves (ſays he) as much as we
 “ pleaſe, yet we can never believe that we
 “ excel the Spaniards in number, the Gauls
 “ in bodily ſtrength, the Carthaginians in
 “ policy and addreſs, the Greeks in arts and
 “ ſciences. But our excellency over all na-

(*a*) Quàm volumus licet ipſi nos amemus : tamen nec numero Hiſpanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, — ſed pietate, ac religione, at-

que hac unâ ſapientiâ, quòd deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernari- que perpeximus, omnes gentes nationeſque ſuperavimus. *De Haruſp. reſp. n. 19.*

“ tions

“ tions undeniably lies in piety, in religion,
 “ in an inward persuasion that there are
 “ Gods who rule and govern the universe.”

Next to the Gods, the Romans paid the
 greatest regard to their country. Love for ^{Love of}
 the place of their birth is natural to all men: ^{their coun-}
 try. but this sentiment seems to have been more
 strong and lively in the Romans than in any
 other nation. They were always ready to
 encounter all hazards and sufferings for its
 sake, and thought themselves obliged to sa-
 crifice all to it, their fortunes, lives, peace,
 glory itself, friends, parents, children (a).
 Neither are we to wonder at it, or judge of
 the dispositions of the Roman people by
 those of other nations. At Rome every par-
 ticular person had a share in the government;
 and a personal interest in the prosperity of
 the state, on which depended his safety and
 welfare. The public successes were his
 work, as he had contributed to them some
 way: by his wisdom in council; by his
 courage in the field; by the election of the
 generals and magistrates in the assemblies.
 Now it is natural to love one's own work;
 to applaud one's self with secret satisfaction
 on the success of one's own undertakings,
 and to have a lively concern for the prefer-

(a) Pro qua (patria) mori,
 & cui nos totos dedere, & in
 qua nostra omnia ponere &
 quasi consecrare debemus. *De*
Leg. 2. n. 5.

Cari sunt parentes, cari li-
 beri, propinqui, familiares:
 sed omnes omnium caritates
 patria una complexa est. *Offic.*
1. n. 57.

vation of what belongs to us, and what we possess. The Romans found all this in the safety of their country ; and to preserve these advantages sacrificed their all.

No ill treatment could stifle in their heart this love, imprinted by nature from their birth, and strongly rivetted by education. It was inculcated on them from their very infancy, that a son ought never to cancel his duty to his mother, though she should be forgetful of the sentiments of nature : nor a citizen be unmindful of his country, though to him ever so ungrateful and unjust. Of what did such a principle not render them capable !

This disposition was kept up and cemented by the particular union of the citizens, to which the first Kings from the beginning applied their whole care and attention, convinced that on it depended the safety of the state. The distribution of the artizans into different bodies united them all together, each according to their profession : the mutual duties of the patrons and clients, that is, of the great and the small, tended to the same end, and promoted the union of the citizens, notwithstanding the difference of employs, and the inequality of conditions.

Love of liberty.

Another and much stronger bond than the first, and which drew the knot still closer, was the LOVE OF LIBERTY. The Romans loved their country as professed enemy of all servitude and slavery. Their notion

notion of Liberty was, a state wherein a man is subject only to the law, and the law is more powerful than men.

This republican taste seemed born with Rome itself, to which the regal prerogative was not repugnant, being tempered by the power of the Senate and People, who shared with the Kings the authority of the government. It is true however that all this while there was only a faint essay of liberty. The tyrannical proceedings of Tarquin the Proud roused their love of it, and they became excessively jealous, when they had enjoyed it in perfection under the Consuls.

The love of liberty must from that time have been very strong and violent, to stifle, in a father, all the sentiments of nature, and put a dagger in his hand against his own children. But Brutus thought it his duty to seal with their blood the deliverance of his country, and inspire the Romans for ever by that bloody execution with an invincible horror for slavery and tyranny.

And such indeed was the effect produced by that example. The slightest suspicion of an attempt upon liberty, instantly effaced all the great qualities of a citizen, and all his past services for the state. Marcius, in the midst of all his glory acquired at the siege of Corioli, was banished for that reason alone. Sp. Melius, notwithstanding his largesses to the People, and for those very largesses, was punished with death. Manlius
Capitolinus

Capitolinus was thrown headlong from that Capitol which he had so bravely defended, and saved from the hands of the Gauls, because he was believed to affect royalty. The essence of a Roman was, as I may say, the love of liberty, and the love of his country.

Add to these two characters the desire of glory and thirst of dominion, and you have a Roman compleat.

*Pastor for
glory.*

Glory was the main-spring of those noble actions that have made the Romans so illustrious. I pretend not here to justify them in this respect: I shall hereafter show what we ought to think of it. I shall only say, that by this motive of glory, the republic, after liberty prevailed, made an incredible progress in a short time (*a*). The frequent examples of patriotism and of devotion to the public good, of which Rome was witness in those critical times, and which she rewarded in so eminent a manner, kindled, not only in the Patricians, but in the Plebeians themselves, that noble fire of emulation and glory, which dares all things, and influenced all along the whole nation. Greedy of praise, they reckoned money as nothing, and valued it only to disperse it.

(*a*) Civitas, incredibile memoratu est, adepta libertate, quantum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriæ inceserat! *Sallust.*

They

They were content with moderate fortunes, but desired glory without measure (a).

The thirst of glory usually produces that of dominion. It appears noble to be master, to command others, to impose laws, to be feared and obeyed. This passion, natural to mankind, was more strong and active in the Romans than in any other People (b).

One would think, at seeing the air of authority they very early assume, that they already believed themselves destined to become one day lords of the Universe. They gently treated the vanquished, but not without requiring constantly an express submission. One victory led to another. Pushing their conquests one after another, they incessantly went on, and knew not what it was to stop. Whoever submitted not to them was an enemy, especially crowned heads (c). The reason of their making war upon all nations and Kings, was their immoderate passion to rule (d). But this ambition was covered with the veil of equity, moderation, wisdom, which hindered it from appearing in its own odious colours. If the Romans were unjust

(a) *Laudis avidi, pecuniæ liberales erant: gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Sallust. in bello Catil.*

(b) *Ea libido dominandi, inter alia vitia generis humani, meracior inerat populo Rom. S. August. de Civ. Dei, l. 1. c. 30.*

(c) *Omnia non serva, &*

maximè regna, hostilia ducant. Sallust. in fragm. It is Mithridates who speaks in this passage, and in the following.

(d) *Namque Romanis, cum nationibus, populis, regibus cunctis, una & ea vetus causa bellandi est, cupido profunda imperii. Sallust. ibid.*

in

in their conquests, they governed the vanquished nations with lenity, who were never more happy than under their dominion. Neither Greece, nor Asia Minor, nor Syria, nor Egypt, nor most of the other provinces, were free from war but under the empire of the Romans.

*Constitution
of the
Roman
common-
wealth.*

The qualities hitherto spoken of, so proper to make conquerors, were assisted and supported by the constitution itself, and by the political principles on which the Roman government turned.

*Two bodies
of the
state.*

Two bodies divided at Rome the authority, namely, the Senate and People. We shall see them continually at variance through the whole course of the history.

*Continual
divisions
between
the Senate
and People
profitable
to both.*

A mutual jealousy, founded on the one side upon a desire of governing in the commonwealth, on the other upon that of keeping themselves free and independant, will raise between them contentions and quarrels, which end but with the republic itself. This generous people, who looked on themselves as born to command all their neighbours, could not bear to be reduced to a kind of slavery by their fellow-citizens. Hence the continual oppositions to the attempts of the Great to make themselves masters: hence the many struggles to put themselves upon a level with the Nobles, and divide with them the honours and offices.

Such

Such continual and early dissensions, it seems, should have, if not intirely ruined, at least much weakened the state. Yet the contrary happened, for they only helped to preserve and confirm liberty. Had the authority been intirely in the Senate, it might have quickly degenerated into tyranny and despotic power. But the People, by an obstinate opposition, obtaining a share, it remained in a sort of equilibrium, which proved the safety of the commonwealth.

It must be confessed, these dissensions, *Usefulness of the dissensions between the Senate and People.* though attended with many inconveniences, procured a considerable advantage to the state, in forming many persons of great merit, and perpetuating a succession of the same. The Patricians, who were obstinately bent to keep to themselves alone the commands, the honours, the magistracies, as they could not obtain them but by the suffrages of the Plebeians, were obliged to use their utmost endeavours to prove themselves worthy by superior qualities, by real and repeated services, by illustrious actions, of which their adversaries themselves were witnesses, and to which they could not refuse their esteem and applause. This necessity of depending on the judgment of the People for admission to posts, obliged the young Patricians to acquire all the merit capable of gaining the suffrages of judges who examined them rigorously, and were not inclined to have a remiss indulgence for the candidates

dates, as well out of love to the honour and welfare of the state, as out of an hereditary jealousy of the Patrician order.

The Plebeians on their side, in aspiring to the highest dignities of the state, were forced to prepare themselves so as to convince their brethren they had all the qualities necessary to fill them with honour. Proofs were to be given of a distinguished valour, of a wise and prudent conduct, of a great capacity to discharge the functions of the offices which led by degrees to the highest. It was needful to have not only the military virtues and ability to conduct an army; but the talent of voting in the Senate, of haranguing the Senate and People, of reporting the great affairs of state, of answering foreign ambassadors, and entering with them into the nicest and most important negotiations. By all these obligations, imposed on the Plebeians by ambition for obtaining of dignities, they were under a necessity of making proof of an accomplished merit, and at least equal to that of the Patricians.

These were some of the advantages arising from the sharp contests between the Senate and People, from whence resulted a lively emulation between the two Orders: and a happy necessity of displaying talents, which perhaps by a continual concord and peace, would have lain dormant and fruitless; just as, if I may use the comparison,
from

from a steel struck with a flint, sparks of fire fly out, which without that violence would remain for ever concealed.

This is not all. Antonius the famous orator, in a celebrated speech at the bar, of which Cicero gives us the plan, and wherein he defended a citizen accused of being concerned in a sedition, demonstrates (a) in general, that these dissensions and quarrels between the Senate and People, though always in themselves very troublesome, were sometimes just and almost necessary for the public good. That without these divisions the Kings could not have been expelled, nor the Tribunes of the People created, nor the Consular power restrained, nor the Appeal established, which was the strong support of liberty and the safety of the state.

I enlarge a little on these commotions and troubles, which will fill so great a part of the history of the beginnings of the republic, (and I fear the reader will think me tedious) because it is of importance to search into their causes, effects, and consequences.

(a) Conclufi ita ut dicerem, etfi omnes moleftæ femper feditiones fuiffent, juftas tamen fuiffe nonnullas, & prope neceffarias. Neque Reges ex hac civitate exigi neque Tribunos plebis creari, neque plebescitis toties confularem potestatem minui, neque provocationem, patronam illam civitatis ac vindicem libertatis, populo Rom. dari fine nobilium diffenfione potuiffe.

To this may be added; that these dissensions themselves contributed more than any thing else to discover the wisdom both of the Senate and People. They touched the two orders in the most sensible parts, and were pushed with all possible vigour and violence. Nevertheless, for near four centuries, that is, to the time of the Gracchi, they cost the commonwealth not one drop of blood. The Senate wisely prevented the excesses to which the People might have been carried, by a timely relaxation, and prudent grant of all or part of their demands: and the People, vying in generosity, were contented with the good intentions of the Senate, without putting them in practice. The contest about the Consulship, to which the People put in their claim, was one of the warmest and most violent. The Senate at last took a medium. They consented, that instead of Consuls, military Tribunes should be appointed, who might be chosen without distinction out of the Patricians or Plebeians. The People, so zealous in defence of their liberty and honour, showed themselves so moderate after the heat of the debates was over, that they named three military Tribunes, all Patricians. *Where shall we now find* (says Livy, full of just (a) admiration) *in a single person*

(a) Hanc modestiam, æquitatemque, & altitudinem animi ubi nunc in uno inven-
neris, quæ tunc populi universi fuit. ? *Liv. l. 4. c. 6.*

the moderation, equity, greatness of soul, which appeared then in a whole People!

Whence think ye proceeded so rare and admirable a moderation? From the sincere respect the two orders had for each other, and from their really deserving it by a character and merit uncommon. This reciprocal respect flowed from an inward conviction that they were mutually necessary to the state, and that the extinction of one of the two orders would infallibly prove the destruction of all. What would the Senate have done, and what would they have been without the People, especially surrounded with neighbouring nations, all jealous of their growth? and what too would the People have done without the Senate, which contained within its bosom all the generals, all the magistrates, all the pontiffs, all the principal pillars of the state? These considerations stopped on both sides the contests when a rupture was at hand.

The course of the history will afford numberless instances of moderation and wisdom, which ought to give us a great idea of the Roman people, and do perfectly discover the essence of their character. We are not to judge of them (*a*) by certain sallies of violence and fury, to which they were car-

(*a*) Multitudo omnis, sicut cellæ in vobis sunt, & causa natura maris, per se immobilis est: venti & auræ cientes auctores est, Liv. l. 28. Ita aut tranquillum aut pro-

c. 27.

ried by the seditious harangues of their Tribunes, who put them out of their natural temper : as the sea, calm in its own nature, grows boisterous by storms. It happened, (*a*) that on one side prudent and generous Consuls often obstructed the rash attempts of passionate and violent Tribunes, and on the other, well disposed Tribunes sometimes withstood the unjust power usurped by ambitious Consuls. This kind of civil war proceeded not, on either side, from a natural hatred and aversion, but on many occasions, from the ill disposition of those in place. In difficult junctures, in tempestuous seasons, when the People coolly and calmly deliberated, solely mindful of the public good, they followed without reserve the Senate's advice, and however jealous of their authority, resigned to them entirely the management of affairs.

W. f. cm,
prudence,
and grace-
ful, of the
Roman Se-
nate.

They had great reason for so doing. Was there ever in any nation a Senate like that of Rome, (I speak of the good times of the republic) wherein affairs were treated more maturely, or with greater foresight, or with more zeal for the public good? The Holy

(*a*) Non enim natura, neque diffidio, neque odio perimus infito, bellum nescio quod habet susceptum consularis cum tribunatu, quia per sepe seditionis atque improbis tribunis plebis boni & fortes consules obstiterunt, &

quia vis tribunitia non numquam libidini resistit consulari. Non potestatum dissimilitudo, sed animorum dissimilitudo diffentionem facit. *Cic. orat. pro leg. agrar. ad pop. n. 14.*

Ghost has not disdained, as Mr. Bossuet observes in his Universal History, to praise, in the Book of Maccabees, the consummate prudence and vigorous counsels of that wise assembly, where no man assumed authority without reason, and all the members conspired to the public welfare, without partiality, and without jealousy (1). 1 Macc. viii. 15, 16.

A kind of transient blindness caused the majority of the Senate to forget their ancient maxims in an affair of importance. Rome and Pyrrhus were almost agreed upon a treaty of peace, which would have been dishonourable to the commonwealth. Appius Claudius, blind and infirm as he was, comes in a chair to the Senate, dispels in an instant the clouds which had darkened the understandings of that wise assembly, and breaks off the treaty which was ready to be concluded.

Every one knows the famous answer of Cineas to Pyrrhus, who asked him his thoughts of the Roman Senate. He told him, when he saw that august body, he took them for so many Kings, such dignity, grandeur, and majesty appeared in their looks, in their discourse, and in their whole person.

Fabricius worthily supported this idea in his conversation with the same Pyrrhus,

(1) *The books of the Maccabees, as well as other apocryphal books, are deemed canonical in the church of Rome.*

whercin the Roman, though but a private man, appeared greater than the King.

Antiochus
Epipha-
neus.

When the Roman power was considerably increased, Kings, with all their pomp, were little before a single Senator. Popilius astonished by his lofty and stately air, the potent King of Syria, who was preparing for the conquest of Ægypt, by obliging him to give a positive answer before he walked out of a narrow circle which he drew round him.

What is it then that could make them so respected even by those before whom all mortals are wont to tremble? They were without attendance, without equipage, and many of them even gloried in poverty. True : but their great actions, their personal reputation, the fame of that body of which they were part, went before them, and served them instead of a train. This authority, to which all that is great in the world paid homage, was the authority of virtue itself, and of merit, inherent in their person, and very different from that which arises solely from the power conferred by the public. Being born in dominion, and brought up in triumphs, whatever came from them had the stamp of nobleness, by which they were distinguished.

And when Rome, grown more powerful, had carried abroad her victorious arms, having seen from their infancy Kings led captive through the streets, and other Kings
humbly

humbly soliciting to come in person to demand justice, and waiting at the door of the Senate their good or bad fortune ; such fights had infinitely exalted their souls, by placing under their feet, in a manner, the crowns of sovereigns, and the majesty of thrones. And so high a part was wonderfully supported by their conduct and sentiments. For their greatness was not built upon their fortune : it was rooted in them, and fixed in their mind and heart.

Such was the Senate, to which Rome owed all her power and all her conquests. Besides that from hence were chosen all the generals and commanders, the great undertakings were there formed, the generous resolutions taken, the important affairs of state managed with a secrecy and wisdom hardly to be conceived. A debate on account of Perseus last King of Macedonia, held in an assembly of three hundred men, remained secret four whole years, and was not known till the war was over. Liv. l. 42.
c. 14.

What refuge for a nation, if the advantage was known, is a council always subsisting, wherein, by a living tradition, are preserved without alteration and decay the antient maxims and spirit of the state : This is the justest idea that can be formed of the Senate of Rome. When instead of the Kings, whose despotic power, under Tarquin the Proud, was become intolerable,

annual magistrates were created (*a*), the Senate was looked upon from that time as the public and standing council of the republic, and as guardian of the laws, soul of the deliberations, defender of the liberty and interests of the People. The authority, properly speaking, at least that which comes from prudence and wisdom, resided in that august body. It passed from thence, and was communicated to the magistrates, by whom it was administered; and the other orders of the republic contributed to heighten the merit and glory of the Senate. In a word, the Senate was the faithful depository of the political principles of the state.

We shall see, as I said, from the very beginning, a plan of government formed under the Kings themselves, and strengthened afterwards by the Consuls, from which Rome never swerved: I mean the great political principles.

*Continued
care of
more just
the citizens.*

When the meaner people were exempted from all taxes, the Senate, by declaring *that the poor paid a sufficient tribute to the state by bringing up their children* (*b*), showed by

(*a*) Cum regum potestatem non tulissent [majores nostri,] ita magistratus annuos creaverunt, ut consilium Senatus reipublicæ proponerent sempiternum—Senatum reip. custodem, præsidem, propugnatorem collocaverunt. Hujus ordinis auctoritate uti magistratus, & quasi ministros

gravissimi consilii esse voluerunt: Senatum autem ipsum proximorum ordinum splendore confirmari, plebis libertatem & commoda tueri atque augere voluerunt. *Cic. pro Sen. n. 137.*

(*b*) Pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si liberos educarent. *Liv. l. 2. c. 9.*

that

that ordinance, they knew wherein consisted the true riches of a state.

In the design of forming at Rome a great empire, the first care was to people it well, and to fill it with inhabitants. This Romulus immediately did, by his invitation of strangers, and civil reception of those that came there to settle. The custom of incorporating with the Roman citizens all or part of the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities taken by force, enabled Rome to bring into the field, in the reign of the sixth King, eighty thousand men, and soon after above two hundred thousand. That policy was wanting to Sparta and Athens, and therefore they never had in the field at once above twenty thousand men.

The multitude of citizens, which daily increased at Rome with the new conquests, might be a burden to her : the colonies removed that inconvenience, and made it one of the greatest advantages and strongest supports of the empire. They produced two admirable effects : one, to ease the city of a great number of the poorer citizens ; the other, to keep the principal posts, and accustom by degrees the foreigners to the Roman manners.

Never did Rome swerve from these two customs, co-eval almost with her foundation, and they were one of the chief causes of her grandeur, especially the first, which ingrafted the vanquished enemies among

the citizens. By that means Rome never wanted foreign troops, which become very dangerous when they exceed or but equal the forces of the natives; because in those mercenary troops, mindful only of gain, are found neither zeal, nor security, nor obedience. Carthage felt that danger, which brought her to the brink of destruction.

The Latine nation at- tached to Rome in a particular manner. I reckon not the Latines among the foreigners to Rome. She had, after long contests, wisely made them friends and allies, who vied in zeal and fidelity with the Romans themselves, and left them nothing to fear, though their quota of troops equal'd and even exceeded those of the Romans. The way they for ever gained so powerful a nation deserves notice, and will fully display the grand principle of the Roman policy with respect to the conquered nations, which was to engage them by lenity and clemency.

The Latines, a potent and warlike nation, after living a hundred years from the battle of Lacus Regillus under the laws of Rome like good and faithful allies, revolted at length, and carried their haughtiness and insolence so far as to demand that half the Senate of Rome and one Consul should be chosen among them. They were entirely vanquished, first by Manlius Torquatus, then by the grandson of the great Camillus. The last having forced them to submit to the mercy of the Romans, placed garrisons in
all

all their towns, took hostages in great number, and returned to give account to the Senate of the condition the Latines were reduced to, which he did in these terms. *In the deliberation you are going to begin, the immortal Gods have so put into your hands the destiny of the Latines, that it solely depends on you to determine whether they shall live or die. You may on their part be sure of a perpetual peace, either by destroying or pardoning them. Will you treat them with the utmost rigour? It is in your power to ruin them utterly, and reduce to a desert the whole Latine country which has hitherto supplied you with such excellent troops: Will you, after the example of your ancestors, increase your forces by the admission of the vanquished amongst your citizens? You have a fair opportunity, which will infinitely redound to your honour. For the surest means (a) to gain the nations you have conquered with your arms, is to make them relish our government. But whatever resolution you take, it must be speedy.* The Senate without hesitation chose the method of lenity, so clearly intimated in the Consul's speech. Rome was amply recompensed by the constant fidelity of the Latines at all times, and particularly after the battle of Cannæ, where almost all Italy ^{Liv. l. 23.} siding with the conqueror, the Latines re- _{c. 12.}

(a) Certè id firmissimum longè imperium est, quo obedi-
entes gaudent.

mained inviolably attached to the Romans, and thereby afforded them means to retrieve their loss.

Sometimes the Romans, to inspire terror, affected to leave in the taken cities terrible examples of severity, and to appear merciless to those that stayed to be reduced by force: but; both from a principle of policy and their natural temper, they inclined much more towards clemency. Virgil has perfectly represented this double character of the Romans in that beautiful line known to all the world:

Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.

To spare the vanquish'd, and pull down the Proud.

*Warlike
character of
the Ro-
mans.
* Ancient
Hist. y,
Vol. xi.*

This leads me insensibly to the warlike virtues of the Roman people. I shall but just mention them, having enlarged upon them elsewhere *. Every thing concurred to inspire them with a martial ardor. Their continual wars with their neighbours made the profession of arms necessary and familiar. Labour, which was their daily occupation, wonderfully fitted them for the military exercises. The toils of husbandry harden and strengthen the soldier (a), whereas the city is proper only to soften him. No hardships

(a) Fortior miles ex con-
fractis venit: fegnis est ur-
banus & verna. Nullum la-

borem recusant manus, quæ
ad arma ab aratro transferun-
tur. *Senec. Epist. 51.*

discourage

discourage the hands which turn from the plough to the sword. What authors tell us of the Roman soldiers is scarce credible. They used to march in five hours twenty, and sometimes twenty-four miles. During these marches they carried sixty pounds weight. They were exercised in the custom of running and leaping in their arms. How many Roman youths hardened themselves by the exercises of the field of Mars, where, after long races on foot and in chariots, they threw themselves covered with sweat into the Tiber, and swam cross the river!

These are the things they gloried in, and thus were formed the soldiers and officers. The Roman youth, says Sallust (*a*), as soon as they could bear arms, learned the art of war by inuring themselves in the field to the greatest hardships. They valued themselves, not upon making entertainments, or following pleasures, but upon having fine armour and warlike horses. And therefore such men were not tired with any fatigues, discouraged by any difficulties, terrified by any enemy. Every thing was sur-

(*a*) Jam primum juvenus simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usu militiam discebat: magisque in decoris armis & militaribus equis, quàm in scortis atque conviviis, lubidinem habebat. Igitur talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non ar-

matus hostis formidolosus: virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriæ maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat. Quisque hostem ferire, murum ascendere, conspici dum tale facinus faceret, properabat. Eas divitias, eam bonam famam, magnamque nobilitatem putabant. *Sallust. in bell. Catil.*

mounted

mounted by their bravery. No conflict was more sharp and lively than that of emulation, leading them to contend with one another for the prize of glory. To strike an enemy, scale a wall, be distinguished for some brave action, was their whole ambition, their method of gaining reputation, and in their opinion, the only ground of true nobility.

The soldiers thus inured were generally healthy and robust. It is not observed, in authors, that the Roman armies, which made war in so many climates, perished much with sickness: whereas it often happens now-a-days, that armies, without engaging, lie dead in the field.

*Emulation
raised
among the
soldiers by
praise and
rewards.
Univ. Hist.*

Besides hardening the body, care was taken also to inspire courage. The military achievements, as Mr. Bossuet observes, had a thousand rewards which cost the public nothing, but were of infinite value to private persons, because glory, so precious to that warlike people, was annexed to them. A very small crown of gold, and generally a crown of laurel or oak-leaves, or of some viler herbage, became inestimable to the soldiers, who knew not any marks more excellent than those of virtue, nor any distinction more noble, than that which flows from glorious actions.

What effect, think ye, was produced in the minds of the soldiers and officers, by the encomiums pronounced by the general
at

at the head of his army, after a battle wherein they had signalized themselves in a particular manner! And these encomiums were attended with glorious monuments, with sensible and permanent proofs of their merit, which they left to their posterity as a precious inheritance. These were to them real patents of nobility; these were moreover sure titles to rise to places more advantageous and honorable, which were granted only to merit, and not procured by intrigue and cabal. From a private soldier, a man might, by successively passing through several degrees, arrive to the Consulship. What agreeable prospect for an inferior officer to behold at a distance the chief dignities of the state and army, as so many rewards to which he could aspire!

Hence the courage of the meanest soldiers is inflamed, they are concerned for the glory and success of the undertakings, and are made, I had almost said, so many heroes. Hence pecuniary rewards are dispensed with, which burden and drain the state, and which being always insufficient to reward all the services, necessarily breed discontent, and create a discouragement almost universal. This industrious care to render virtue and merit honorable is the real character of the Roman republic, and the means which has conduced the most effectually and withal the most freely to its grandeur. A few oaken or laurel boughs, as I observed, sufficed

ficed to pay the services of those who helped to conquer the Universe.

As for the generals, what impression must the honour of a triumph make upon the soul of a person before whom walked the Senate in a body with all the orders of the state, for whom all the temples were smoking with sacrifices offered to the Gods in thanksgiving for his victory, and who, shown as a public sight in a stately chariot, saw marching before him the glorious spoils he had won, and was followed by the victorious army, who made the whole city resound praises unsuspected and justly deserved! So august a ceremony seemed to raise the triumpher above the condition of mortals.

*Severity of
the disci-
pline.*

Liv. l. 8.

Ibid. l. 7.
c. 5.

THE ROMANS in war knew how to make use of punishments as well as rewards. The steadiness of a Dictator with respect to his general of horse, who could be saved from death but by the intreaties and urgent prayers of all the People; the inexorable severity of Consul Manlius to his own son, whom he unmercifully put to death, though victorious, for fighting contrary to his orders: these examples made a terrible impression of fear upon the People, which became for ever the firm bond of military discipline. Wherefore never was it observed in any nation so inviolably as among the Romans; nor did any thing contribute so much

much to render them victorious over all their enemies (*a*).

How should they have been otherwise than victorious with troops formed, as we have seen, and above all, guided in their operations by principles the most proper to make conquerors? one of which was, not to know any other end of a war but victory (*b*), and for its sake to surmount by an indefatigable perseverance, all the obstacles and all the dangers by which it can be retarded. The greatest misfortunes, the most desperate losses, were incapable of daunting their courage, or making them accept a base and dishonorable peace. To grant nothing by compulsion, was a fundamental law of the Roman policy, from which the Senate never departed; and in the most melancholy junctures, weak counsels, instead of prevailing, were not so much as heard. As far back as Coriolanus, the Senate declared, no agreement could be made with the Volci as long as they remained on the Roman territory. They proceeded in the same manner with Pyrrhus. After the bloody battle of Cannæ, wherein above fifty thousand Romans lay dead in the field, it was resolved, no proposal of peace should be listened to. Consul Varro, who had been the occasion of the defeat, was received at

*Constancy
in the
greatest
dangers
and mis-
fortunes.*

*Dionys.
l. 8. p. 509.*

(*a*) *Disciplina militaris, qua stetit ad hanc diem Romana res, Liv. l. 8. c. 7.* (*b*) *Nec finem ullum alium belli quàm victoriam moverit. Liv. l. 5. c. 6.*

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(*b*) *Nec finem ullum alium belliquàm victoriam moverit. Liv. l. 5. c. 6.*

public good ; and to carry by successive wars and a continual habit of conquering, ability in the military art to the highest degree of perfection possible.

*Course of
the change
of the anti-
ent man-
ners.*

But at length the poison of prosperity prevailed, and changed the manners, which had hitherto conduced to the advancement of Rome, than the great talents of the generals. Extortion and violence, long unknown, began to creep in among the Roman magistrates, whose moderation had been the wonder of the universe. The destruction of Carthage, Rome's everlasting and formidable rival, the dread of whom kept her in breath, was the fatal date of the beginnings of her decay. Discord, avarice, ambition, civil wars, usual attendants on prosperity, quickly changed the face of the state. Then the ancient manners degenerated, not by degrees, as before, but with a rapid course ran into all sorts of riot and excess (*a*).

In the best times of the republic, it must not be imagined that the whole body of the state had the same sentiments of nobleness and greatness of soul. A small number of citizens and great men, eminent for an uncommon merit, and firmly attached to the

(*a*) Discordia & avaritia, atque ambitio, & cetera secundis rebus inhiiscentia mala, post Carthaginis excidium maxumè aucta sunt.—Ex

quo tempore majorum mores, non paulatim ut antea, sed torrentis modo præcipitati. *Sallust. in fragm.*

ancient

ancient maxims, influenced every thing ; because at that time virtue, if it was not generally practised, was at least generally revered. Nay, afterwards, when the generals and magistrates began to be corrupted with luxury and sloth, there were some remains of that antient spirit of wisdom in the government, and of discipline in war, which supported the republic, and made it still shine with some lustre (*a*).

Cicero in a fragment of his Books *De Republica*, preserved by St. Augustin, quotes ^{De Civ. Dei, l. 2. c. 21.} a verse out of Ennius, wherein the poet makes the same observation as I have done ;

Moribus antiquis res stat Romana, virisque:

“ The Roman republic stands solely by the
 “ antient manners and principles, and by
 “ the merit of the great men by whom
 “ they are practised ;” and upon this verse, which for its brevity and truth he considers as an oracle, he makes the following reflections (*b*).

“ It

(*a*) Ac mihi multa agitant, constabat paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse ; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed, postquam luxu atque desidio civitas corrupta est, rursus res publica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat. *Sall. in bell. Catilin.*

(*b*) Quem quidem ille versum, vel brevitate, vel veritate, tanquam ex oraculo mihi quodam esse effatus videtur. Nam neque viri, nisi ita morata civitas fuisset ; neque mores, nisi hi viri præfuissent, aut fundare, aut tamdiu tenere

“ It is the union of these two advantages
 “ which has produced all the grandeur of
 “ Rome : on the one hand, the good man-
 “ ners, the wise political principles esta-
 “ blished from the beginning ; on the other,
 “ a succession of great men formed upon
 “ these antient principles and manners, and
 “ employed by the state in the administra-
 “ tion of affairs. Before our times, says
 “ Cicero, that happy union was always the
 “ same, and these two advantages were ever
 “ united together ; otherwise a republic so
 “ powerful and extensive as ours could not
 “ have subsisted so long with honour, nor
 “ so constantly kept up its reputation
 “ amongst all nations.

“ Our age (*a*) is very different from those
 “ happy days. We can look upon the re-
 “ public as an excellent picture, as a paint-
 “ ing of exquisite beauty, but of which the
 “ antiquity has deadened that lively and
 “ bright colouring which struck the eye,
 “ and bred admiration. Not only we neg-
 “ lect to re-enliven the colours, but are even
 “ unmindful to preserve at least the design
 “ and most distinguishing lines.

nare possent tantam & tam
 longe lateque imperantem
 rempublicam. Itaque ante
 nostram memoriam, & nos
 ipsi patrias præstantes viros
 adhibebat, & veterum morem
 ac majorum instituta retine-
 bant excellentes viri.

(*a*) Nostra verò ætas, cum

rempublicam sicut picturam
 accepisset egregiam, sed jam
 evanescentem vetustate, non
 modò eam coloribus iidem,
 quibus fuerat, renovare neg-
 lexit; sed ne id quidem cu-
 ravit, ut formam saltem ejus
 & extrema tanquam linea-
 menta servaret.

“ And

“ And indeed (*a*), what remains of those
 “ antient manners, which according to the
 “ poet Ennius supported the republic? In-
 “ stead of their revival, they are so utterly
 “ buried in oblivion, that the very idea of
 “ them is lost. As for the great men capa-
 “ ble of maintaining the honour of the re-
 “ public, the want of such, every one
 “ knows, has destroyed the ancient man-
 “ ners. Let us not flatter ourselves. So un-
 “ happy a change is to be laid to our charge:
 “ by our vices we have suffered our ancient
 “ glory to wither, and of that perfect mo-
 “ del of government which formerly gain-
 “ ed us such repute, there remains nothing
 “ but the empty shadow of a republic.”

Cicero might have added, that the victo-
 ries of the second Scipio Africanus, the most
 considerable speaker in his dialogues *De*
republica, contributed chiefly to that change
 of manners, by the drunkenness which na-
 turally attends great prosperity, by the lux-
 ury and pride they brought into Rome, and
 by the fatal security they procured the Ro-
 mans from Carthage, which, as long as it
 subsisted, was their constant terror. And

(*a*) Quid enim manet ex antiquis moribus, quibus ille dixit rem stare Romanam? quos ita oblivione obsoletos videmus, ut non modo non colantur, sed etiam ignorentur. Nam de viris quid dicam? mores enim ipsi interierunt virorum penuria. Cuius tanti mali non modò reddenda ratio nobis, sed etiam tanquam rei capitis quodammodo dicenda causa est. Nostris enim vitiis, non casu aliquo, rempublicam verbo retinemus, reipsè verò jampridem amissimus.

this total decay is not to be wondered at, Evils are without remedy, when vices become customary, and make the manners of a people (*a*). There were still at Rome, after that time, great men, Marius, Sylla, Pompey, Cæsar, and some others: great men with respect to military virtues, but in whom appeared not the ancient spirit of the republic, or the maxims of the ancient government, that is to say, moderation, wisdom, justice, disinterestedness, love of the public good.

By what has been said it is manifest how dangerous it would have been for Rome to be raised on a sudden to a high degree of power and grandeur, and how advantageous and even necessary it was, that the slowness of her progress should afford time to lay solid foundations for an empire, which the divine providence was pleased to render universal.

*Surprising
extent of
the Roman
empire.*

For there never was an empire either more flourishing or more extensive than the Roman. From the Euphrates and Tanais to Hercules's pillars and the Atlantic ocean, all the lands and all the seas were under their obedience, from the middle and center, as it were of the Mediterranean sea, they included the whole extent of that sea, penetrating far and wide all the states round about, and making it the communication of

(*a*) Desinit esse remedio locus, ubi, quæ fuerant vitia, mores sunt. *Senec. Epist.* 39.

their empire, it is astonishing to consider, that the nations which at present make kingdoms so considerable, all Gallia, all Spain, almost the whole island of Great-Britain, Illyria to the Danube, Germany to the Elbe, Africa to the frightful and impassable deserts, Greece, Thrace, Syria, Egypt, all the kingdoms of Asia Minor, and those between the Euxine and Caspian seas, with many others, became Roman provinces, almost all before the end of the republic. Thus Mr. Bossuet describes the extent of the Roman empire, whose style would easily discover him without the addition of his name.

When I consider the Roman empire in that extent of provinces and kingdoms above mentioned, I imagine I see a vast and stately edifice. The sight whereof alone strikes, surprises, dazzles the eyes of the spectator, and leaves him in silent admiration; such beauty, grandeur, magnificence, does it at once present to him. How much time and pains must the foundations of such a structure cost, and how deep and wide must they be to support so immense a weight of buildings! Each part, when examined separately, appears a master-piece of art to which it seems impossible to make any addition. But whose skill is sufficient, or whose sight extensive enough, to comprehend and discern what makes the true beauty, and as it were the soul of such an edifice? I mean the justness of the propor-

tions, the harmony and fitness of the several parts, the infinite variety whereof, artfully disposed, forms the whole, which reduces all to unity, and sets the value upon the work.

The foundation and growth of the Roman power ought to be ascribed to a particular regard of divine providence to that empire.

It would be certainly folly to believe that so well designed and perfect a disposition of the parts in a building was entirely owing to chance. Would it be less folly not to assign another cause to the establishment and progress of the Roman empire? I do not understand how so sensible an historian as Plutarch, in his comparison of the Romans with Alexander, could ascribe to fortune only the Roman grandeur, and that of Alexander to his virtue alone. If that work be his, an opinion, so visibly contrary to truth, would be the effect of his blind passion for the Grecians, whose glory was his idol. But on many accounts it is justly doubted whether that treatise be Plutarch's.

* Lib. 1. Cicero (as well as * Polybius) is of a very different opinion. "There is no man, says Cicero, but, as soon as he perceives there are Gods, perceives also that the divine providence, by a particular protection, presided at the birth, growth, and preservation of the Roman empire." (a)

It would not be, it is agreed, studying history like a man of good sense and judg-

(a) Quis est qui—cùm tantum imperium esse natum, deo esse intellexerit, non intelligat eorum numine hoc & auctum, & retentum. *De Harusp. resp. n. 19.*

ment,

ment, not to observe the inclinations, the manners, the character, as well of the prevailing nations in general, as of the princes in particular and great men who appear on the scene of action. To view them with a transient and superficial glance only, is not to know them: they must be studied, examined, and thoroughly sifted (*a*). This maxim is universally acknowledged. But, on the other hand, would it be studying history like a religious man and a Christian, to adhere to that consideration alone, and not refer things to their principles, by looking up to a superior and invisible cause that absolutely disposes of empires, and makes them subservient in the times and order he has fixed, to his designs upon mankind?

What more noble prospect for the eye of faith, and even for human curiosity, if it be ever so little enlightened, to behold with certainty, and without fear of mistake, the secret spring which from the creation of the world has put the whole universe in motion, and to see a God, who, from the highest heaven, holds in his hand the reins of all kingdoms, and disposes of them like an absolute sovereign! That same almighty God, the fountain of all goodness, willing to make known to mankind his supreme power over Kings and Monarchies, which he sets up

(*a*) Depone istam spem, tota tibi inspicenda sunt, tota posse te summam degustare tractanda. *Sene. Epist. 33.*
ingenia maximorum virorum:

Daniel ii.
and vii.

and pulls down according to his pleasure; discovered the mystery to his prophets; and clearly and distinctly foretold to them the succession of the four great empires, namely, the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, which destroyed one another at the times appointed by Providence, in order to give place to the everlasting kingdom of Christ, which is the term and end of all the empires of the world.

Who after this can question that God had great designs with respect to his church upon the Roman empire, which swallowed up all the empires of the universe, and to which he subjected all lands and all seas? The commerce of so many different nations, heretofore strangers to one another, and afterwards united under the Roman dominion, and in a manner joined by the use of the same language*, has been one of the most effectual means in the hands of Providence to advance the propagation of the Gospel.

This being once supposed, and it is undeniable, that God had particular views in the establishment of the Roman empire with respect to his church, and was pleased to raise it to a grandeur and power which had almost the same bounds with the universe; the reader, as he shall see Rome, by a chain and series of extraordinary events, grow,

* *Plu arch says that in his almost universal.* In *Moralising the Roman tongue* p. 1010.

gather strength, and far extend her conquests, will admire the beauty, justness, proportion of the means used by divine providence for attaining its ends: means singular, new, till then unknown, and never after imitated; and he will acknowledge with a religious surprize, that nothing could be devised more suitable to the design intended by God.

Now Providence, according to its views upon men and nations, bestows on them talents proportionable to the grandeur they are designed for, as the Scripture informs us particularly in the instance of Cyrus. It may be said, no nation has been more favoured in that respect, or more accomplished than the Roman people, whether they are considered with regard to moral virtues, or to political government, or to martial merit and the art of war. There has never been a republic more religious, or more abounding in good examples, or where avarice and luxury gained ground so late, or where simplicity and poverty were so much and so long in honour (*a*). The encomium, given the Roman Senate by the Holy Ghost, is a demonstration how much the wisdom of the consuls, love of the public, steadiness to the maxims of the state, lenity and mo-

(*a*) Nulla unquam respublica nec major, nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit: nec in quam tam feræ avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint; nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniz honos fuerit. *Liv. in præf.*
deration

deration in the government of the nations, prevailed in that august assembly. Courage, boldness, intrepidity in the midst of the greatest dangers; an invincible patience in the hardest labours, an inexorable firmness to maintain the military discipline in its utmost rigour; a settled resolution to conquer or die, a greatness of soul, and a constancy proof against all misfortunes, have at all times constituted the character of the Romans, and render'd them in the end victorious over all nations. We admire in them all these great qualities, but we are not generally apt enough to discern their author, and look up to the fountain from whence they flowed.

God intending to establish a great empire by the Romans, as he had before done by Cyrus and Alexander, took here a very different method. He had granted the qualities proper for the execution of his designs to the person of these two illustrious conquerors. They both founded vast empires in a very short space, and in their life-time: but their talents were not inherited by their descendants, or their successors.

It was very different with the Romans. The Roman empire was not founded nor raised to the state of grandeur it attained, by the rare endowments or rapid conquests of a single person: the Roman people themselves, the body of the state, formed that empire by slow degrees, and at several times.

The

The great men that helped, each in their time, to establish, enlarge, and preserve it, had all different characters, but all followed the same principles. Such a conduct is uncommon. Generally every prince follows his particular taste, manners, and maxims.

In relating the extraordinary virtues of the Romans, I do not pretend they were general, and without mixture of vices and crimes : that was far from being the case. God knew it, but however made them instruments of his particular designs, to which they contributed without knowing them : just as, if I may use the comparison, an architect, who alone has in his head the plan of the whole edifice he is going to build, and who, to put it in execution, employs the hands of numberless workmen, skilful every man in their way, but in other respects little valuable, and often very vicious. Hence we ought still more to admire the conduct of providence. God intended to form a great empire in the city of Rome, which he destined to be one day the center of religion, and capital of the Christian world. He gives those who govern it the fittest qualities to render a nation powerful and victorious : but withal he leaves them to their passions and evil inclinations. The crimes of the Romans, their pride, ambition, injustice, and violence, are, on God's part, but a bare permission, which neither sways nor influences men in their criminal designs,

designs, but only directs their wickedness to the object which comes into the order of Providence. The disposition of their heart would equally lead them to such or such injustice: but God, to whom all things are obedient, and who directs and orders even darkness itself, leaves an event free to the passions of men, but only as they may serve the execution of his designs.

It must then be acknowledged that the excellent qualities which we admire in the Romans, were the gifts of God, which they corrupted by the end they referred them to, namely, vain-glory, sole motive of their noblest actions. But that vain-glory, that insatiable thirst of praise, stifled in them, as St. Augustine observes (*a*), avarice, injustice, and many other passions. But, however imperfect, or, to speak more justly, however sinful were their virtues, God was pleased not to suffer them to go entirely unrewarded. He gave them one reward, but wholly worldly and temporal, proportioned to their merits and wishes. They were rendered an object of admiration to all mankind: they gave law to many nations: they had the glory of establishing the finest empire that ever was: they were looked upon in all ages, and still are to this day, as men

(*a*) Romani causa honoris, laudis, & gloriæ consuluerunt patriæ—pro uno isto vitio, id est amore laudis, pecuniæ cupiditatem & multa alia vitia comprimentes. *S. August. de Civ. Dei*, l. 5. c. 13.

of extraordinary merit, and as patterns in every thing relating to the conduct and government of states. Vain and empty reward, but worthy those who are blind enough to be pleased with it (*a*) !

There are many other things of moment to be remarked on the government and state of the Roman republic, which I omit to put an end to a preface already too long. If a fuller knowledge of these matters be desired, I refer the reader to Mr. Bossuet's wise reflections in his discourse on universal history, of which I have made use in some places ; and to a late work, entituled, *Considerations on the causes of the grandeur and decay of the Romans* *, which is very short but very good, and extremely proper to give a just notion of the character of that people.

* Printed
in the year
1735.

(*a*) Si neque hanc eis terrenam gloriam excellentissimi imperii concederet, non redderetur merces bonis artibus eorum, id est virtutibus, quibus——tanquam vera via nisi sunt ad honores, imperium, gloriam. Honorati sunt in omnibus ferè gentibus : imperii sui leges imposuerunt

multis gentibus : hodièque literis & historia gloriosi sunt penè in omnibus gentibus. Non est quod de summi & veri Dei justitia conquerantur. *Perceperunt mercedem suam,* (adds some Father) *vani vanam. S. August. de Civ. Dei, l. 5. c. 15.*

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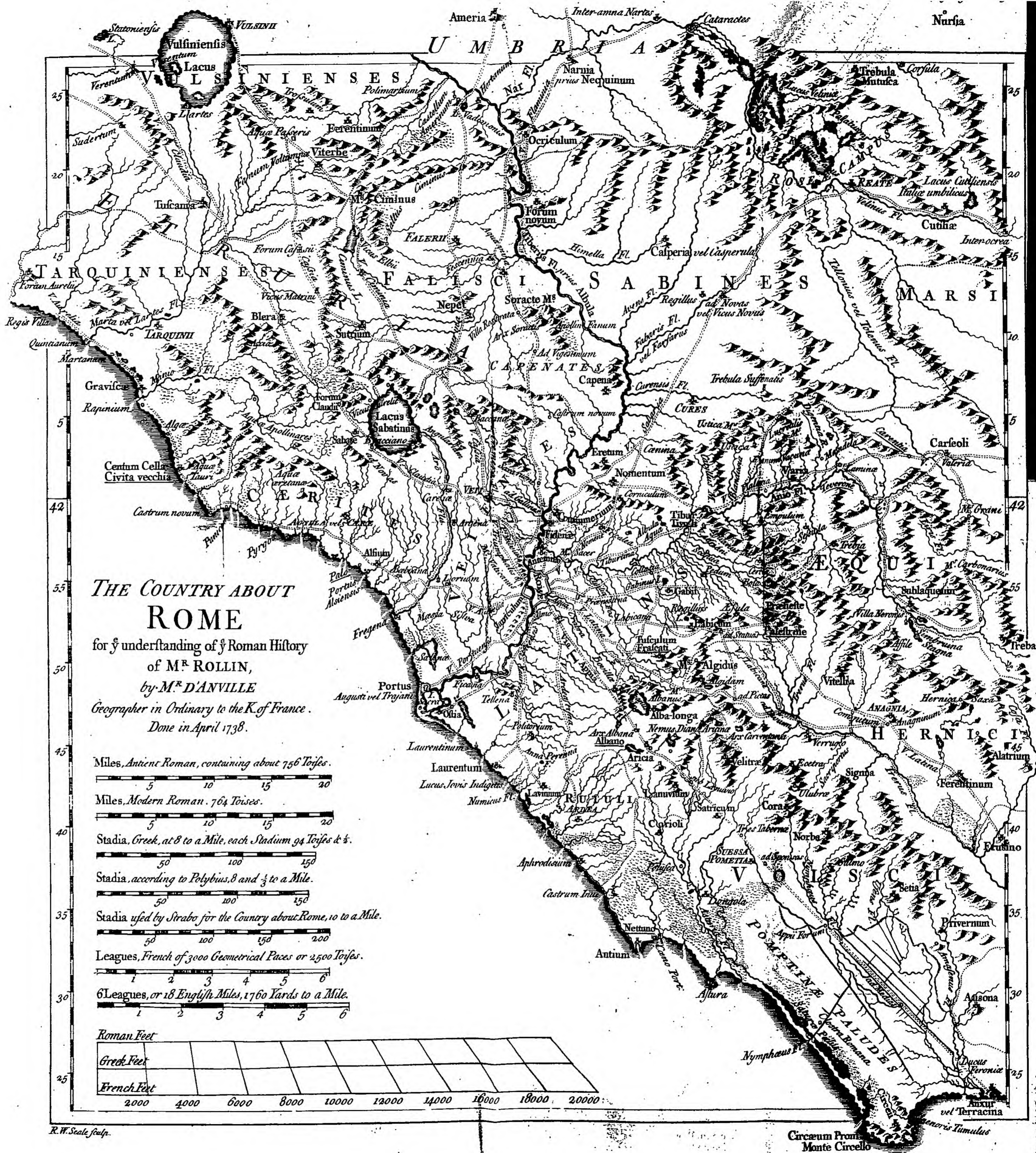
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P R E.



THE ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE
FOUNDATION of ROME
TO THE
BATTLE of ACTIUM.

BOOK THE FIRST.

INTRODUCTION.

I Have no occasion to begin the Roman History with observing that the years not only before, but long after, the foundation of Rome, contain some events entirely improbable, and more like fabulous inventions than historical facts grounded on authentic memoirs. It is usual, every one knows, for antiquity, fond of what excels and surprizes, to embellish with *the marvellous* the beginnings of great cities and powerful states, and to introduce some Deity to render their origin sacred and august to all ages. All the Roman historians that have reached our times, authors in other respects of great judgment and sense, have believed this method indispensable, and inserted in their writings, facts, and events, which they plainly per-

ceived to be false and absurd, but which a popular tradition (*a*), transmitted from age to age, and antient as Rome itself, obliged them to regard to a certain degree, though not without delivering them for what they were. For they have taken care from time to time to acquaint us what credit they deserve, by plain intimations of their own private opinion: and Livy begins his history with a declaration, that he intends neither to assert nor refute the extraordinary and wonderful things advanced about Rome. He only says, if it is allowable for any nation to render their origin venerable by referring it to a Deity, such is the glory, such the conquests of the Roman people, that if they claim the God of War for father to themselves and to their founder, the rest of the nations should be as ready to grant them that privilege, as they were to submit to their empire (*b*). Fables of this kind, though they should seem to be received and embraced by the Historians, no way affect the truth of the facts with which they are joined, neither, as Abbé Sallier has largely demonstrated, ought they to throw any suspicion or doubt on the history in general.

*Memoirs
of the
Academy
of Belles
Lettres.
Vol. VI.*

Before I proceed to the History itself of Rome and the foundation thereof, I shall relate

(*a*) *Famæ rerum standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem. Liv. l. 7. c. 6.*

(*b*) *Quæ autem conditam condendamve urbem, poeticis magis decora tabulis, quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec affirmare, nec refellere in animo est. Datur hæc venia antiquitati. ut, miscendo humana divinis, primordia*

urbium augustiora faciat. Et, si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas, ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat; tam & hoc gentes humanæ patientur æquo animo, quam imperium patientur. T. Livius in Proæmio.

in



INTRODUCTION.

3

in the first chapter what Dionysius Halicarnassensis informs us of the foregoing times, but this very briefly, because these antient facts are of little importance : and herein I shall follow Livy's example, who does but just mention them in a very cursory manner.

B 2

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CHAP. I.

Summary of what passed in Italy before the foundation of Rome.

S E C T. I.

Antient nations first inhabitants of Italy. Evander. Hercules. Latinus. Æneas arrives in Italy, marries Latinus's daughter, and builds Lavinium. War with Turnus and Mezentius. Ascanius, son of Æneas, founds Alba Longa. Succession of the Kings of Alba.

Dionys.
Halicarn.
Antiq.
Rom. l. 1.
p. 1—57.
Tit. Liv.
l. 1.
c. 1—3.

ROME, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, owed it's origin to the Greeks. It is indeed certain that several Grecian colonies came at different times and settled in Latium or the neighbouring countries, whose first known inhabitants were called *Siculi*, a barbarous people, natives of the country, that is, whose origin is not traced in history. Some believe the *Aborigines*, from whom the *Romans* descend, to be also natives of *Italy*, and so named as being sons of the soil, that is, sprung originally from thence (1).

Many years before the siege of Troy, a colony of *Arcadians* under the leading of *Ænotrus* settled in Italy, called at that time *Ænotria*. Afterwards *Italus*, a descendant of *Ænotrus*, left it his name, which it retains to this day. Porcius Cato the censor, with several other noted

(1) As Dionysius will have the Aborigines to come from *Arcadia*, and to be so called from their living upon mountains, the etymology of the

word must be from ἀπ' ὀρέων γένεσθαι, that is, natives of the mountains. Dion. Hal. l. 1. p. 11.

authors, hold the Aborigines to be descended from these Arcadians.

In process of time, a colony of *Pelasgi*, natives of Peloponnesus, but inhabitants of Thesfaly, compelled to abandon their country, took refuge among the Aborigines. The two nations with united forces drove out the Siculi who possessed the country where Rome was afterwards built. The Siculi withdrew to an adjacent island, named *Trinacria* from it's three promontories, and held in part by the *Sicani* †, a people originally from Spain. This island was afterwards called *Sicily*.

About sixty years before the Trojan War, A. M. Evander, banished from Peloponnesus, arrived 2760. with his Arcadians in Italy. *Faunus*, who then Ant. C. 1244. reigned over the Aborigines in the little territory of Italy, called *Latium*, gave them, being few in number, a civil reception, with as much land as they wanted. There they formed a small town, calling it *Palentium*, in remembrance of their native place of the same name in Arcadia. It was afterwards called by the Romans *Palatium*, from whence mount Palatine took it's name. Evander succeeded Faunus.

Some years after the arrival of these Arcadians, Hercules came into Italy with a powerful army, to conquer that country, having already subdued Iberia. He had vanquished and slain Geryon, feigned by the Poets to have three bodies, because he was king of three large kingdoms in Spain. He brought with him Geryon's oxen, which were remarkably beautiful. All the world knows the boldness and tragical end of Cacus, an adventure so elegantly sung by Virgil, and not refused a place by Livy in

† This is mentioned by Dion. Halicarn. l. 1: p. 17.

his history. This famous robber stole from Hercules some of these oxen, and was killed by that hero. Evander commanded then in those parts, rather honoured for his accomplishments, than obeyed as a Sovereign. The art of writing*, an unheard of prodigy to people ignorant of all arts, gained him respect. But nothing procured him the veneration of these uncivilized people so much as his mother Carmenta's reputation, who was reckoned a goddess†. She had been, before the Sibyl's arrival in Italy, the oracle of these nations. Evander, pretending to have heard long before from Carmenta's mouth, that a Hercules, son of Jupiter and Alcmena, was destined by the Fates to be a God, no sooner heard the name of Cacus's vanquisher, but he resolves to merit his protection, by being the first to pay him divine adoration. He instantly erects an altar, and after imparting to him the prediction of the Oracle, sacrifices a young bull to his honour.

It was decreed, at the request of Hercules, and with the consent of the whole nation, that the like solemnity should be for ever annually celebrated after the Grecian rites (which he taught them himself) having selected for that end two of the noblest families, the *Potitii* and *Pinarii*, to preside at the ceremony. It will hereafter be seen, how the *Potitii* became extinct, for offering (it is said) to lay these ceremonies upon public slaves. The *Pinarii* were still in being in Cicero's time. Hercules, when he went away, left some of his Grecian followers in Italy, who, uniting with the Aborigines, lived

* He taught these people the use of the Greek alphabet, which were the first letters used by the antient Latins.

† She was called Themis by the Greeks.

together in the same city in so good understanding, that they might have been deemed the same people.

About fifty-five years after the departure of Hercules, Latinus, reputed son of Faunus, but real son of Hercules, was King of the Aborigines, and in the thirty-fifth year of his reign. From him were the people called *Latines*, and the country *Latium**, which was then of very narrow extent. About that time the Trojans, who had with Æneas escaped the flames of Ilium, landed at Laurentum on the Tyrrhenian coast near the mouth of the Tyber, in the country of the Aborigines. Dionysius Halicarnassensis asserts and proves, that the Trojans were of Grecian extraction. Æneas brought with him the statues of the Greater Gods, and the Palladium, deposited afterwards in the temple of Vesta, and committed to the custody of the Vestal Virgins†, with strict orders not to expose it to view. The Aborigines immediately drew together under the command of Latinus their King, to oppose the foreigners. But Latinus enquiring into the reason of their landing in his dominions, was informed, they were Trojans, that under the conduct of Æneas, son of Anchises and Venus, were in search of a place to settle and found a city. Beholding, with admiration mixed with respect, that illustrious people and the hero their commander equally ready

* Others think the country was so called from the time of Saturn's flying thither from Crete, to avoid the persecutions of his son Jupiter, à latendo.

† Under the Emperor Commodus, the temple of Vesta be-

ing burnt down, the Vestal Virgins saved the Palladium from the flames, and carried it through the Via Sacra to the Emperor's palace Herodian. in vit. Commod. p. 39.

for war or for peace, he gave Æneas his hand in token of friendship. Mutual congratulations passed between the two armies. Latinus received Æneas into his palace, and, to strengthen their alliance, gave him, in the presence of his Household Gods, his daughter Lavinia in marriage. A city was founded by Æneas, and called Lavinium from his new consort, by whom he soon had a son named Ascanius.

This marriage raised the Trojans and Aborigines a common enemy. Turnus, King of the Rutuli*, to whom Lavinia was promised before the Trojan Prince's arrival, enraged to see the preference given a stranger, denounced war against both, and gave them battle, which proved unfortunate to both sides. The Rutuli were defeated, but the conquerors lost Latinus who commanded in person. Turnus and his followers, conscious of the ill situation of their affairs, implore the assistance of Etruria. Mezentius, Sovereign of that flourishing kingdom, kept his court at Cære, an opulent city for those days. As he had always looked with a jealous eye on the Trojan colony, and fancied he saw in the increase of that new power a just cause of alarm to the neighbouring states, he readily joined in a league with the Rutuli (b.) Æneas, wanting the entire affection of the Aborigines to withstand the terrible storm that hung over his head, caused his own and that nation to become one for the future, governed by the same laws, under the name of *the Latine people*.

* *Inhabitants of the maritime parts of la Campagna di Roma*

(b) *Jam inde ab initio minime lætus novæ origine ar-*

bis, & tum nimio plus, quàm satis tutum esset accolis, rem Trojanam crescere ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis junxit. Liv.

FOUNDATION OF ROME.

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This so gained the Aborigines, that they proved to him as faithful and steady as the Trojans.

Secure of the affection of his subjects, whose union daily increased, Æneas might have kept within his walls, and from thence repulsed the forces of Hetruria. However, he courageously ventured to meet so formidable an enemy. The Latines obtained a second victory, which was also the last action of Æneas, and the period of his mortal life. His tomb was still to be seen in Livy's time on the banks of the Numicus (1). Divine honours were paid him by the name of *Jupiter Indiges* *.

His son Ascanius was not yet fit to reign: but, during his minority, the government was so successfully managed by Lavinia, a princess of great ability and application, that she resigned to the young king his father's and grandfather's inheritance in the same state she had received it. It is questioned whether this prince was Lavinia's son or another Ascanius, surnamed *Iulus*, born to Æneas by Creusa before the destruction of Troy, who followed his father to Italy, and from whom the *Julian* family boast their extraction and name. However this be, it is certain he was son to Æneas.

Ascanius seeing Lavinium very populous, and as flourishing as cities could be at that time, left his mother, or (if you will) his mother-in-law to reign there, and founded on mount Alban another city called *Alba Longa*, because it was extended in length along the side of the hill. The kingdom of Alba, in the computation of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, lasted four hundred

(1) Now Rio de Nimi, formerly a river, now a small rivulet.

* The Heroes who by their actions had merited the apotheosis, were stiled Dii Indigetes.

and

and thirty years, from the arrival of Æneas into Italy to the foundation of Rome. The interval between the building of Lavinium and of Alba was scarce thirty Years, and yet so considerable was the Latine power now grown, especially after the defeat of the Hetrurians, that neither Mezentius nor any other neighbouring Prince dared to attack them; not even after Æneas's death, or during the regency of Lavinia or minority of Ascanius. By a treaty of peace, the river *Albula*, since called the Tyber, was made the boundary of the two nations.

Sylva.

Ascanius left the crown to his son named *Sylvius*, from being accidentally born in a wood. His son and successor was Æneas Sylvius, father of Sylvius Latinus, founder of some colonies known by the name of the *Antient Latines*. All the Kings of Alba bore the name of Sylvius. After Latinus's death succeeded from father to son, Alba, Atys, Capys, Capetus, and Tiberinus, who being drowned in attempting to pass the Albula, has immortalized his name by giving it to that river. The kingdom fell to his son Agrippa, and after him to Romulus Sylvius, who being killed by lightning, was succeeded by Aventinus, the place of whose burial was from him called *mount Aventine*, one of the hills on which Rome afterwards stood.

S E C T. II.

Amulius dethrones his elder brother Numitor. Rhea Sylvia, Numitor's daughter, is shut up among the Vestals, and delivered of Romulus and Remus, imputed to the God Mars, who are privately educated. When grown up, they kill Amulius and restore their grandfather to the throne. Death of Remus.

PR O C A, son and successor of Aventinus, Dionys. l. 1. p. 57. — 76 had two sons, Numitor and Amulius. At his death he bequeathed the kingdom to his eldest son Numitor. But the ambition of Amulius regarded neither the last will of a father nor the rights of an elder brother. Not content with usurping the throne, to compleat his villany, he causes his Nephew Ægeſtus to be murdered; and if he suffers his neice Rhea Sylvia to live, he places her among the Vestals*, on pretence of doing her honour, but in reality to deprive her of all hopes of children. Notwithstanding these precautions, the Vestal becomes mother of twins, Romulus and Remus. Some authors ascribe these children to Amulius himself. Rhea declared she was ravished by Mars, whether she believed so, or in excuse for a fact which, without the authority of a God, would have been considered as sacrilege, and punished with death. But, says Livy, neither Gods nor men delivered either herself or sons from the king's cruelty. He commanded her to be closely imprisoned in chains, and her children thrown into the Tyber. Liv. l. 1. c. 4—7. Plut. in Rom. p. 19—23.

* *What relates to the Vestals will hereafter be explained.*

By

Plin. l. 15
c. 8.

By good chance, the river, then overflown, turned the neighbouring fields into a sort of pond, which rendered the current inaccessible. The men who were charged with drowning the children, believing they would as soon perish in standing water, stopped at the first inundation, and exposing them in their cradle, thought they had sufficiently executed the king's orders. It is said, the cradle, after floating some time, was left on dry ground by the waters retiring, and that a wolf, descending from the mountains to drink, ran at the cry of the children, and gave them suck. They are also reported to have been fed by a woodpecker. Faustus, the king's shepherd, was witness of these things, and beheld with admiration the wolf caressing and licking the infants as if they had been her young, and the infants hanging on her dugs as if she had been their mother. (This kind office was performed by the wolf under a fig-tree, which afterwards became very famous. I wonder at Tacitus (a) for seriously saying this fig-tree remained above eight hundred years.) Faustus, struck with so surprising a sight, brought home the children, and delivered them to his wife Laurentia to nurse. The lewd life of this woman is said by some to gain her from the shepherds the nickname of *Lupa* (or *wolf*), which gave occasion to this fabulous story.

Thus it was that Romulus and Remus were born and nursed. From their very infancy, a certain air of superiority and grandeur which appeared in their looks, joined with an uncommon

(a) Eodem anno Rumina-
lem arborem in comitio, quæ
super octingentos & quadra-
ginta annos Remi Romulique
infantiam texerat, mortuis

ramalibus, & arescente trun-
co deminutam, prodigii loco
habitum est, donec in novos
fœtus reviresceret. *Tacit.*
Annal. l. 13. c. 58.

stature,

stature, seemed to discover their birth. They were sent (Plutarch says) to Gabii, to be instructed in literature and all other things proper for children of quality. They led however a shepherd's life with the rest, working for their livelihood, and building their own huts. One of these huts is affirmed by Dionysius Halicarnassensis to remain in his days by the name of Romulus. It was deemed as something so sacred, that the people whose business it was to support it, durst not add any ornament to it, but only repaired the decays occasioned by age and weather.

In process of time, the two brothers, disdaining an idle pastoral life, applied themselves to the chase in the neighbouring forests. Grown, by this exercise, robust and intrepid, they are no longer content with attacking wild beasts: they fall upon the robbers, carry off their booty, and divide it among the shepherds. Crowds of youths daily increasing their number, they were able at last to hold assemblies, and celebrate games.

One day as the festival of the Lupercalia (1), formerly instituted by Evander, was solemnizing
in

(1) *This festival was sacred to Pan, the God of the country, and was chiefly celebrated in the villages. Some have imagined the Lupercalia were instituted in memory of the wolf, that preserved Romulus and Remus; but as that story is very probably a mere fiction, the other opinion, that they were brought by Evander into Italy, is more likely. The name is derived from λύκατος, for so Pan is called in Greek, perhaps from λύκος a wolf, in Latin lupus, because Pan's*

*chief business was the protecting the sheep from such beasts of prey. The Priests were called Luperci. The ceremonies were these. Two goats (Pan is supposed to have goats-feet) and a dog (the shepherd's companion) were sacrificed, and the foreheads of two noble youths were stained with the bloody knife by the Luperci, and the blood wiped off with locks of wool dipped in milk, the two boys laughing all the while. This done, the goat-skins were cut into thongs and whips for
the*

in the country, a band of robbers, who sought an opportunity to be revenged of the two brothers, found means to surprize them. Romulus escaped out of their hands, but Remus was taken and carried before the king by the robbers. As they accused him and his brother, among other crimes, of making incursions and committing robberies with a band of vagabonds on Numitor's lands, Amulius sent the prisoner to Numitor, that he might do himself justice.

Fauftulus had all along flattered himself that the twins he had under his care, were of the blood royal. He knew, they were found by him about the time that the sons of Rhea were by Amulius exposed on the Tyber. But, persuaded that the time was not yet come, he was waiting 'till a favourable juncture or necessity should compel him to reveal the secret. The danger the prisoner was in, forced him to open the matter to Romulus. On the other hand, Numitor had just learnt that Remus had a twin-brother. This circumstance, the age of the two brothers (they were passed eighteen), with their noble inclinations, all brought his grandsons to his remembrance, and the questions he put entirely convinced him that his prisoner was Remus. From that time nothing was thought of but the tyrant's destruction. Romulus not having a sufficient number to go together and force the palace, orders his people by different ways

the two youths, who ran about the streets and fields all naked but the middle, lashing all they met. The young women never avoided the strokes, as fancying to be great promoters of conception and delivery. This festival was celebrated the 15th of February. There

were at first two colleges of priests, the Fabiani for Romulus, and the Quinctiliani for Remus. A third was added by the senate to the honour of Julius Cæsar. See Plut. in Rom. Sext. Pomp. Festus. Ovid. Fast. Dion Cass.

to repair thither at an hour appointed. He comes and joins them, and in concert with Remus, followed by Numitor's domesticks, flies to attack the King: Amulius is slain.

Numitor, at the first outcry, published that the enemy had surprized the city and was now master of the palace. By this false alarm he draws to the citadel, as to a place of defence, all the men of Alba capable of making resistance. But as soon as he saw the conspirators come to him with an air of triumph, he assembles the Albans. He puts them in mind of his brother's outrages to him: relates the origin and birth of his grandsons; their education, and the manner of his knowing them. He concludes with informing them of the tyrant's death, and declares himself the author. Then Romulus and Remus advance with their followers into the midst of the assembly, proclaim their grandfather King, and by their example, the title and authority of Sovereign is confirmed to him by the unanimous acclamations of the people.

The two brothers, leaving Numitor the kingdom of Alba, resolved to found a city in the very place where they had been exposed and brought up. They were joined by a multitude of Albans and Latines besides a great number of shepherds, which inspired them with hopes that the city they were going to found would soon outshine Alba and Lavinium. The desire of reigning, fatal passion and the vice of their family, seized then the two brothers and created a difference between them, which began at first with moderation, but ended in a very tragical manner. As birth-right in the case of twins could not claim a precedence, they both agreed to consult the flight of birds, to know for which the tutelar gods had reserved the honour of naming
and

and governing, the rising city. To this end, Romulus was placed on mount Palatine, and Remus on mount Aventine. Remus first discovered vultures, to the number of six: but the moment he declared it, Romulus saw twelve. Whereupon two parties are formed. One declares for him that first saw the vultures; the other for him that saw most. Contests ensue; passions are raised; the quarrel grows bloody; and Remus is killed in the fray. His death is otherwise related. As Romulus was ordering the ditch which was to surround the walls of the new city, Remus jested on the narrowness of the work, and adding insult to rallery, contemptuously leaped over the ditch to expose his brother. Romulus, enraged at the affront, struck him dead, saying, *Thus perish all who dare act like him.* Cicero considers Remus's rallery as an empty excuse for Romulus's criminal ambition, by which he was prompted to this murder for the sake of reigning alone: and notwithstanding his respect for the deified founder of Rome, expressly condemns him. *Peccavit igitur pace vel Quirini vel Romuli dixerim.*

Offic 1. 3.
c 41.

Rome, by some authors, is believed more antient than Romulus, by whom (say they) it was only restored (1).

(1) Some make the Pelasgi the founders of Rome, and to call it so from the Greek word *Πάριον*, strength. Others say it was built by some Trojans, among whom was a woman of note called Roma. Solinus says Evander was the found-

der. The author of a late dissertation on the uncertainty of the five first ages of the Roman history, endeavours to show that it cannot be made appear by whom or when Rome was founded.

PLAN OF ANCIENT ROME

For the understanding of the Roman History of M^r ROLLIN,
Designed from y^e Enquiries of Pirro Ligorio, Alessandro Donati, & Famiano Nardini;
The Whole adapted to an exact Plan of the City of ROME,
Published by Dominico Rosi in the Popedom of Innocent XII.
By M^r D'ANVILLE Geographer in Ordinary to the K. of France.

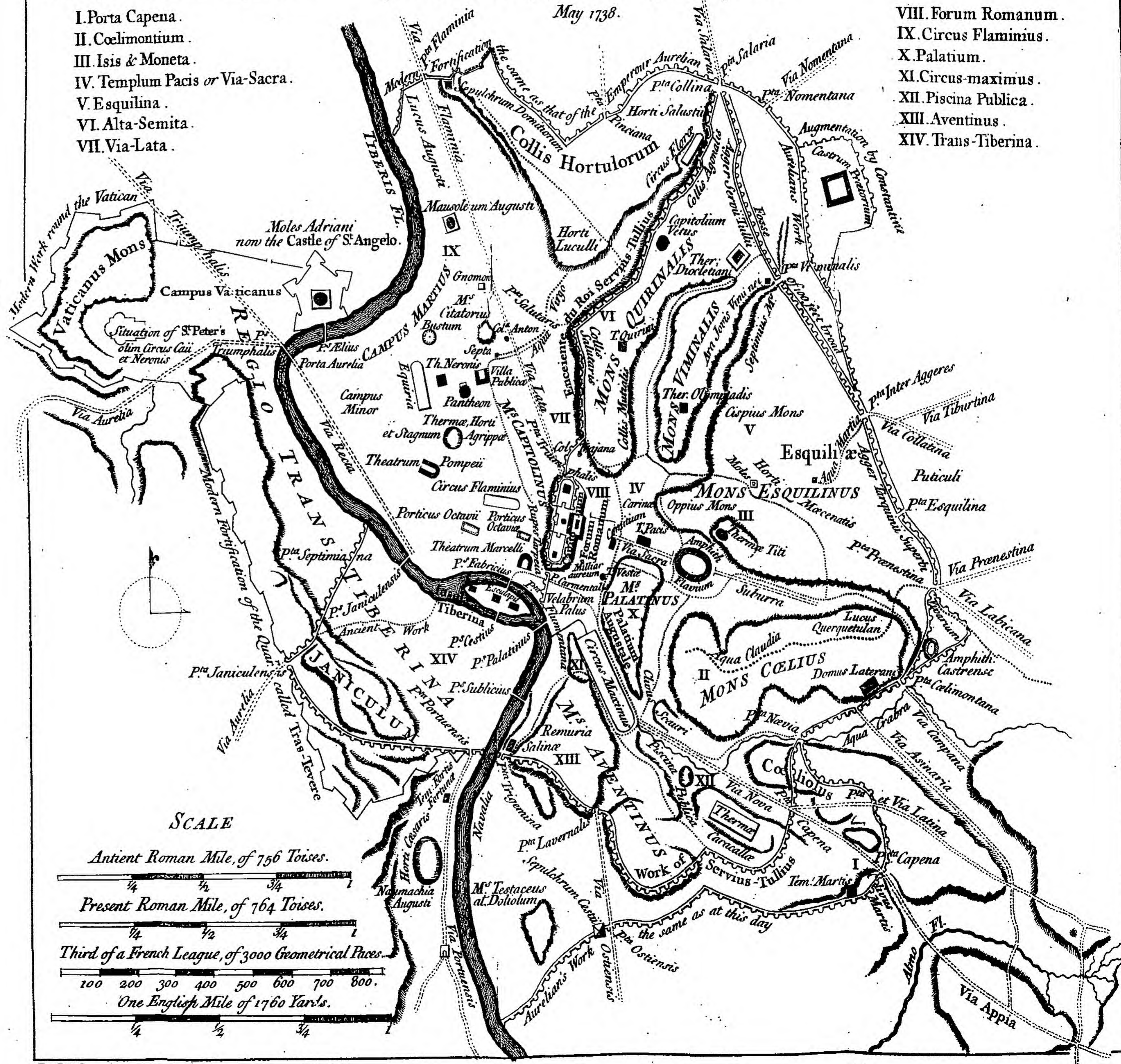
May 1738.

The several Quarters or Districts of ROME
according to the Distribution of Augustus

- I. Porta Capena.
- II. Coelimum.
- III. Isis & Moneta.
- IV. Templum Pacis or Via-Sacra.
- V. Esquilina.
- VI. Alta-Semita.
- VII. Via-Lata.

Which have their Limits and Numbers
in the Plan.

- VIII. Forum Romanum.
- IX. Circus Flaminius.
- X. Palatium.
- XI. Circus-maximus.
- XII. Piscina Publica.
- XIII. Aventinus.
- XIV. Trans-Tiberina.



C H A P. II.

*The HISTORY of the Seven KINGS
of ROME.**The REIGN of ROMULUS.*

S E C T. I.

Romulus founds the city of Rome on mount Palatine. He is elected king. He divides the people into three Tribes, and thirty Curiae: into Patricians and Plebeians. Senate. Patrons and Clients. Knights. Asylum opened for all sorts of persons. Wise regulations established by Romulus.

ROMULUS, by his brother's death be- A. M.
 came sole master, applied himself with 3253.
 fresh ardor to raising the walls of the city, and Ant. C.
 building the houses which they were to inclose. 751.
 The colony at first was pretty numerous: but Of R. 1.
 the dissention of the leaders, followed by a Liv. 1. 1.
 conflict, destroyed many, and caused others to c. 8.
 withdraw. It was now reduced to three thou- Dionys.
 sand foot and three hundred horse. Romulus l. 2. p. 77
 had marked out with a plough a square round —87.
 the hill, making a continued furrow to show Plut. p 24.
 where the foundations of the walls were to be *Romulus*
 laid, except in the places designed for the gates. *founds the*
 For there, holding up the plough, he carried *city of*
 it without continuing the furrow: hence the *Rome on*
 word *porta*, a gate. The ceremony was ever *mount Pa-*
 Vol. I. C after do.

after observed on the like occasion. A space was left within between the walls and the houses, on which it was unlawful to build, and another without, which was not to be ploughed. This space was called *Pomærium* (1). The work, as well without as within, was soon brought to perfection. Romulus, bred in a hardy pastoral life and inured to martial exercises, dedicated the new city to his reputed father the god of war.

Cato, whose opinion I shall follow, places the foundation of Rome on *the eleventh of the Calends of May*, (that is, the 21st of April,) in the first year of the VIIth Olympiad: which answers to the year 751 before Christ, and of the world 3253. This æra is put back two years by Varro, and placed in the third year of the VIth Olympiad. On that day a pastoral festival, called *Palilia* (2), was celebrated at Rome. It is not certainly known, whether this festival was owing to the foundation of Rome, or instituted before.

Romulus, having employed his first care in building the walls and houses of the growing city, by Numitor's advice, whom he always consulted, assembled the people to know what form of government should be established. He represented to the assembly, "that the force of

(1) Though our author, after Livy, calls the *Pomærium* that space of ground on both sides the walls, which at the first building of a city was consecrated by the augurs, and on which no structures were to be raised, yet according to Plutarch, the line marked out by the plough, was called *Pomærium*, from *pone mœnia*.

Hence the phrase *pomærium proferre*, to signify the enlarging of the city.

(2) The festival of Pales goddess of shepherds. See a description of the superstitions used by the shepherds on that day in Ovid, *de fastibus* 4, v. 721. &c. The same day was also called *Urbis natalis*.

“ arms, acquired by courage and discipline, is
 “ a strong bulwark against foreign invasions :
 “ that the union of the citizens, which can
 “ prevail in a nation only by sobriety and ju-
 “ stice, is the most sovereign remedy against
 “ domestic troubles.” He displayed the va-
 rious kinds of government used by different
 nations, with their respective advantages and
 defects, which rendered a choice very difficult :
 Adding, “ To you it belongs to see and con-
 “ sult together, whether you had rather be go-
 “ verned by one or a select number of magi-
 “ strates, or whether the government shall be
 “ entirely popular *. I am ready to submit to
 “ what form you shall please to establish.
 “ Though I think myself not unworthy to
 “ command, yet am I willing to obey. I am
 “ content with the honours already heaped on
 “ me, the chusing me for head of the colony,
 “ and calling the city after my name.”

When Romulus had thus spoken, the people *Romulus*
 considered apart what choice they should make. *is made*
 The consultation was not long, and Romulus *king.*
 was intreated to take upon him the government.

“ *Who (say they) has a better claim than you to*
 “ *the crown? You are of the blood of our kings,*
 “ *and have all their royal endowments. We have*
 “ *already made you head of our colony, and upon*
 “ *all occasions you have supported that dignity*
 “ *with all the courage and prudence that can be*
 “ *desired.*” Romulus replied, “ He was ex-
 “ tremely sensible of the resolution made in his
 “ favour : but how worthy soever he appeared
 “ of the crown, he begged leave not to accept
 “ of that honour, ’till the gods by some new

* *Dionysius Halicarnassensis does not add this third form :
 but it seems necessary.*

“prodigy had confirmed their choice.” A day was appointed for that ceremony. Victims were offered by Romulus with the usual rites. He had but just ended his prayer: when a bright flash of lightning (if the historian be credited) was seen on his left, and extended itself to the right: which was deemed a fortunate omen by the Romans (*a*). Then was Romulus declared king in form.

Frequent mention will be made in the sequel of *Auspices*, as well as *Augurs* and *Aruspices*, without whose interposition few public affairs were transacted. It will therefore be proper to give some idea of them.

Auspices were chiefly taken these two ways.

First by the flight, singing, or feeding of birds. The flight of a raven on the left, and of a crow on the right, were good omens, so was also a clear and shrill note. *Ante consulem hæc dicentem, corvus voce clarâ occinuit. Quo lætus augurio, &c.* As for the feeding of chickens, the *Pullarius* or keeper let them out of their coop, and threw down a handful of crumbs or grain. If they seized the meat greedily, and scattered part on the ground, the omen was favourable, and this was called *tripudium solistimum* (1). On the contrary, if they refused to eat, the omen was fatal. The story of P. Claudius the consul is well known, who, ready to engage at sea in the first Punic war, and hearing the chickens would not come out of their coop, ordered them to be thrown into the sea, with this

(a) Fulmen sinistrum auspici-
cium optimum est ad res om-
nes, præterquam ad comitia.
Cic. de Divin. l. 2. n. 74.

(1) Tripudium, quasi Ter-
pavium, from striking the

earth: the old word pavire
signifying ferire. Festus men-
tions tripudium solistimum and
tripudium sonivium, both de-
rived from the crumbs falling
to the ground.

jest, *If they will not eat, let them drink.* But he was vanquished. I need not say, his defeat was caused by his rashness, and not by the contempt of so silly and childish a ceremony.

The second way of taking auspices, was from certain Observations in the heavens. The Augur marked in the air with the (*Litus* or) augural staff bent at the end, a certain space to observe what should pass there: this space was called *Templum*, as well as the place where he stood to make his observations. In this manner it was that Romulus perceived Jupiter's approbation of his election to the crown, having seen lightning come out on his left side and proceed to his right. This ceremony, which was also observed when Numa was called to the crown, is largely described by Livy. But these pretended omens, favourable on certain occasions, were not so with respect to the *Comitia*. When lightning was seen, or thunder heard, the assemblies of the people by centuries could not be held: *Jove tonante, fulgurante, comitia, populi habere nefas* Dionys. l. 2. p. 81.
Liv 1. 1. c. 18.
De Divin. l. 2 n. 43.

These methods of consulting the will of the gods were called *Auspicium*, from the *aspect* of birds, *ab avium aspectu*, from the old word *specio*, or *Augurium* from the notes of birds, *ab avium garritu*.

The pleasure of the gods was also consulted by the inspection of the entrails of the victims. To this office were appointed the *Aruspices*. The various etymologies of this word I shall omit for brevity sake (1). They were of much less consideration than the augurs, who were

(1) *The Aruspices were so called, ab aris aspiciendis, from looking upon the altars; and ab extis inspiciendis, from inspecting the entrails, they were named Extispices.*

chosen out of the prime nobility. Besides many other observations upon the victim, their principal study was the inspection of the entrails, as the heart, spleen, lungs, and particularly the liver. Sometimes, if they may be credited, the head of the liver, or even the whole liver, vanished on a sudden, which was a Sign of some great misfortune.

Onuph.
de civ. R.
c. 17.

L. 1. de
Divin.
n. 92.

All these religious ceremonies were very antient. They were come from Chaldea to Greece, from thence to the Hetrurians, of whom they were borrowed by the Latines. In process of time, the senate ordered six young Roman noblemen to be sent every year to Hetruria for perfect instruction in these matters.

In the course of the Roman history we shall find that the most important affairs were always decided according to the auspices and auguries, in which were introduced a thousand frauds and impostures, especially in the latter times of the Republic. Cicero, who was dignified with the title of *Augur*, and perfectly knew the whole art practised by himself and colleagues, is a good precedent for our opinion in this case. It is pleasant to see, in his second book of *Divination*, with what philosophical liberty he ridicules the profession, and how he demonstrates by proofs, some more convincing than others, the uselessness, falsity, contradictions, and impossibility of the art. In that book he relates Cato's saying, that he could not imagine how one *Aruspex* could look another in the face without laughing (*a*). However, Cicero, notwithstanding his great contempt of these super-

(*a*) *Vetus illud Catonis admodum scitum est, qui mirari se aiebat quod non rideret aruspex, aruspicem cum vidisset. De Divin. lib. 2. n. 51.*

stitutions, blames the generals and magistrates, that on important occasions had neglected them, and maintains, that this practice, though, according to him, full of the highest abuses, ought to be regarded on account of religion and the prejudices of the people. Thus the wisest of the Heathens held the truth captive, and by a wrong policy or base fear, bred in the minds of the populace superstitions as ridiculous as profane, of which they perceived the falsehood and vanity.

The custom of consulting the auspices before any office was entered upon, was punctually observed not only under the kings, but also after their expulsion, in the election of consuls and other magistrates their substitutes. Of this Romulus had given an example.

Established on the throne by a voluntary and unanimous consent, he contrived to give his Republic a regular form by wise institutions, the sole means of uniting and incorporating a people. But he perceived the laws would be regarded by men so unpolished no farther than the legislator could awe them with the pomp and splendor of sovereign majesty. Among other marks of distinction to render his person more sacred, he appointed twelve *Lictors* or serjeants to walk before him. Their office was to attend the kings (and afterwards the chief magistrates) to make way for them, to execute criminals, &c. The number of Lictors was borrowed, it is thought, from Hetruria. They carried the *Fasces* or bundles of rods with axes, which were both the symbol of power and the instruments of the punishments inflicted on offenders.

He first divided the people into three bodies, placing over each body a head distinguished by

his merit : then he subdivided each of these into ten others, the command of which he gave to as many captains of noted bravery. The three greater bodies he called *Tribes*, and the thirty lesser *Curiae* or *wards*. A priest, stiled *Curio* (1), was charged with the sacrifices in each ward. He divided also the lands into thirty equal portions, and gave one to each *Curia*, reserving however what was necessary as well for the maintenance of the temples as for the sacrifices ; and a certain portion for a publick fund.

From this first division, in which an exact equality was observed, Romulus proceeded to another, wherein his intent was to settle the ranks, honours, and offices of his subjects. The persons noted for their birth, merit, or riches, (such as they were in those days) and who were fathers of children, were distinguished from those who had neither birth nor fortune. To these last he gave the name of *Plebeians*. The others formed a separate body, which was the original of the Roman nobility.

*Senate
establisht-
ed.*

After this he established a public council to share with him the cares of the government, and maturely examine the affairs of the state. His method was this : He began with nominating one of the nobility, whom he judged most capable of preserving in his room, the peace and safety of the city, whenever he should be obliged to march his army out of the confines of Rome *. Then each Tribe chose also three nobles eminent for their wisdom. The thirty *Curiae* had the same privilege, and each electing three nobles, compleated the number of

(1) Hence doubtless the word
curate.

* He was called *Præfectus
urbis*, the prefect or governor
of the city.

ninety: which made a hundred in all, inclusive of the president chosen by Romulus. This council was called *the Senate*, because of the age or wisdom of the members; and the Senators for the same reason were stiled *Patres*, (*Fathers*;) The epithet *Conscripti* was afterwards added on account of the Senators of the new creation. This additional title, which was at first peculiar to these last, became by degrees common to all the Senators, who were called, *Patres Conscripti*.

Romulus believed it necessary to have a band *Knights* of young men, who might be always under arms, as well for a guard to his person, as for the urgent occasions of the state. He raised therefore three hundred strong and robust youths out of the most illustrious families; the choice of whom he left to the *Curiae*, as he had done with regard to the Senators. Each Curia chose ten. He was ever after attended by this guard, which he called *celerēs*, *light* and *active*, as being their duty to be always ready to march at the first signal. Their commander was a man of great merit, that had under him three officers, from whom the subalterns received orders. They fought on horseback or on foot as occasion required, and signalized themselves in the army by their courage. This was the original of the Roman Knights.

Thus Romulus formed the Senate, chose the Knights, and distinguished the People from both. All the citizens not included in the Senatorian or Equestrian Order, were called *Plebs*, *People*. The descendants of the hundred *Fathers* or Senators, of whom Romulus composed the Senate, or of those added by the kings his successors, were called *Patricians*. All who were not descended of these Senators, were termed

termed *Plebeians*. In process of time, a Plebeian might, by the choice of the Censor, become Senator, when master of the estate appointed by the laws for one of that body: but he ceased not to be Plebeian, because not sprung from these antient Senators.

Plin. l. 33. It must however be observed, it was long
c. 2. after, in the time of the Gracchi, or rather consulship of Cicero, that the Roman Knights were a distinct Order. Antiently there were, properly speaking, but two Orders, the Senate and People, and two estates, the Patricians and Plebeians.

*Order of
the go-
vernment.*

In the next place, Romulus fixed the ranks and honours suitable to each Order. He assumed to himself the superintendency of all holy things, and made himself head of religion. He took the title of Guardian of the laws and customs of the country, reserving to himself the cognizance of the weightier causes in criminal matters, and referring those of less moment to the Senate, not without his inspection however, that every thing should be regularly done. He claimed also the power of assembling the Senate and People when he should think proper: to give his vote first, to conclude by a majority of voices, and to execute what should be thus determined. In a word, he ascribed to himself the command of the armies with absolute authority in time of war as Generalissimo.

He granted the Patricians alone, exclusive of the Plebeians, the honour of priesthood; the care of the sacrifices, auguries, and all holy things; the administration of justice and all offices as well civil as military. He made the Senate supreme judge in all cases referred to their
tribunal

tribunal by the king, without allowing any appeal from their decisions by a majority.

He left to the people the power of creating magistrates, making laws, and determining upon war or peace when required by the king: but this power was limited, and the resolutions of the People were not valid without the Senate's approbation. To prevent the disorders of tumultuous assemblies, all the People did not vote at once: but the *Curix* were convened one after another, and the sense of the major part was referred to the Senate.

Such was the fundamental constitution of this state, neither wholly monarchical nor entirely republican. The King, the Senate, and the People, were in a mutual dependence, and from thence resulted a balance of power, whereby the royal prerogative was restrained, and the authority of the Senate and liberty of the People secured.

Romulus, to obviate the jealousy, which a difference of condition might create in the two Orders of the state, endeavoured to bind them to each other by reciprocal obligations, and so unite them, that in doing honour to the Nobles, he should not render the People contemptible. To this end, he established the right of patronage, and regulated the mutual duties and services of Patrons and Clients. The Patrons were obliged to explain the laws to their Clients, to take care of their affairs wheresoever they were, and assist them with their interest as a father would his own children. It was their duty to improve their Clients money, to draw up their contracts, and prevent them from being wronged. In all law-suits it was the Patron's business to support and defend his Clients against their accusers. In a word, they were bound to procure

cure them all the tranquillity necessary for their public or private affairs, that they might not be interrupted in their labours; and the greatest men in the state took a pleasure, and deemed it an honour, to perform these services for their fellow citizens (a). The Clients, on their part, were obliged to portion the daughters of their Patron, if the father was not able to do it: to ransom him and his children, if taken by the enemy: to pay the expence of his law-suits when cast, or the fines he should be condemned in, all at their own charge without usury or interest: to bear his expence in the discharge of his posts and offices with the same affection as if they were of his family. Besides those obligations peculiar to the Patrons on one side, and to the Clients on the other, there were some common to both. The Patron or Client could not accuse, or bear witness, or vote against one another, or take part with their mutual enemies. The offender in any of these points was punished very severely.

This right was extended with the Roman power. When the empire was enlarged by conquests, the colonies, the confederate or conquered cities, chose also a Roman for their Patron. And very often the Senate referred the differences of cities and nations to their protectors, whose sentence they afterwards confirmed.

It is easy to conceive how proper so wise a regulation was to bind the lowest to the highest by mutual dependencies, to preserve union among all distinctions, and prevent the fatal effects of divisions unavoidable in Republics, and

(a) Clarissimi viri nostræ civitatis, temporibus optimis, hoc sibi amplissimum pulcherrimumque ducebant, ab hospitibus clientibusque suis —injurias propulsare, eorumque fortunas defendere. *Cic. Divinat. in Verr.* n. 66.

usually ending in murder and blood: Whereas in Rome for six hundred years we shall see dissensions, though ever so violent, always amicably terminated. This custom, constantly observed 'till even long after the time of the Republic, demonstrates an admirable fore-sight and ripeness of judgment in a prince so young as Romulus then was.

Order being thus established, he turned his thoughts to enlarge and people his new city. In the first place, he obliged his subjects to bring up all their sons and eldest daughters, forbidding them to expose any of the younger 'till full three years old, unless the child was deformed; in which case he allowed the parents to expose son or daughter, after showing them to five neighbours for their opinion. Something like this had been established by Lycurgus, but Romulus's-law was not so repugnant to wisdom and humanity. Romulus added an important restriction, namely, not to expose the child under three years: for in that time a child's weak constitution, often derived from the mother, may be rectified: and besides it is usual for parents, in that interval, to grow fond of their children, and therefore they will be more averse to expose them. Both Lycurgus and Romulus, by this institution, violated the law of nature, which forbids murder, and gives not parents a power of life and death over their children. The barbarous custom of exposing children was, however, universally practised among the Heathens.

A second means used by Romulus to people Rome, was to open an Asylum or place of refuge for all states and conditions that would come there and settle. He hoped, by this artifice, to augment the Roman power, and lessen

Dionys.
l. 2. p. 88,
—99.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 8.
*Laws
about chil-
dren.*

*Asylum
opened at
Rome.*

sen that of his neighbours. And indeed, multitudes from the neighbouring cities flocked thither, to be protected either from the severity of their masters, or creditors, or from the pursuits of justice, which the credit of their adversaries made them fear ; or purely out of novelty and change, or because they knew of no retreat more secure or convenient : especially as Romulus gave them all a most obliging and civil reception. Thus from a receptacle of shepherds and adventurers sprung the conquerors of the world.

*Right of
freedom
given to
the van-
quished
nations.*

Romulus used a third expedient, that the Greeks should not have neglected ; which in time became the strongest support of the Roman power, and contributed the most to the advancement of the empire. He made war but to conquer men, well knowing when his armies should be able to seize them, he should not want lands. To this end, his usual method was to spare the youth of the conquered places, not make them slaves, nor leave the lands of his conquests uncultivated. On the contrary, he sent Romans to inhabit these countries, and gave them part of the soil for their use. He caused them to associate with the vanquished nations, who by that means soon acquired the Roman spirit, and became so many new colonies, which were sometimes favoured by the prince with the freedom of Rome. By so prudent a conduct, Romulus made his enemies his first citizens, and changed in a very short time a small colony into a great and numerous people. When he built Rome, he had at most but three thousand foot, and three hundred horse : and when he disappeared in the sight of his people, the foot were increased to forty-six thousand, and the horse to above a thousand. The
kings

kings his successors, and the magistrates after them, took the same measures for the government of the Republic, and only made additions to Romulus's plan. Hence that prodigious increase which rendered the Romans the most numerous people in the world.

What has been hitherto said, may be considered as the body or external part of the government. Romulus added other regulations, which were as the soul; and demonstrate how admirable were the prudence and wisdom of that prince. He was persuaded that the welfare of Republics depended upon those great principles, which most politicians inculcate, but very few know how to practise. He said, before all things the gods were to be rendered propitious, because from them alone the happy success of affairs both publick and private is to be expected. The people should be inspired with a zeal for justice, and a love of temperance; virtues which preserve union among men by preventing them from injuring one another, and teach them not to place their happiness in infamous pleasures, but in honour and virtue. Finally, martial courage and bravery ought to be a protection to all other virtues, and a defence against foreign violence. But he knew at the same time (the Historian observes) that the happy conjunction of all these advantages is not the effect of chance, or the bare gift of nature; and that religion, justice, temperance, valour, are not seen to arise in the heart without the assistance of wise laws, and the constant practice of what they prescribe.

Romulus employed all his care in the execution of this excellent plan, and began with the worship of the gods. He built them temples, erected them altars, raised them statues, set up their images adorned with ensigns of their power,

Romulus's principles with regard to the government and manners.

power, and emblems of their benefactions. He instituted particular festivals in honour of each deity, with different sacrifices and ceremonies: he established public solemnities, at which all the people, ceasing from work, were obliged to be present. He followed in many things the Grecian customs, but carefully purged them from those infamous indecencies introduced by fabulous tradition. He banished all sumptuousness in the sacrifices and feasts offered on certain occasions to the gods. Dionysius Halicarnassensis admires how this antient simplicity had been preserved to his time, of which he was himself frequently witness, having seen the barley-meal, the holy cakes, the first-fruits, and other things of the like nature, all very cheap, served upon old wooden tables, in earthen dishes and wicker baskets; and libations made, not in vessels of gold or silver, but in plain urns and bowls of baked earth. Can we think, says Cicero, that these earthen and potters vessels were less agreeable to the immortal gods in their worship, than those of gold and silver, which are now so much esteemed (a)?

The regulations in respect to the manners of private persons are no less remarkable. Dionysius Halicarnassensis observes, that Romulus made but one law about marriages, which appears very simple, and yet prevented all abuses, and kept the women within the bounds of virtue and modesty. It was expressed in these words: *Let every wife, who by the holy laws of marriage falls into the power of a husband, enter with him into a community of goods and sacrifices* *. Hence it

(a) Minusne gratas Diis immortalibus capedines ac fictiles urnas fuisse, quam delicatas (or Deliacas) istorum pa-

teras arbitramini? 1. *Parad.*

* Uxor farreatione viro juncta, in sacra & bona ejus venito. *There were three ways*

it seems they become in effect but one person, without any separate interests, and consequently ought mutually to love and support one another. The wife at her husband's death inherited his goods, as a daughter does her father's. If he died without children and intestate, all the inheritance belonged to her. If he left any children, she divided the effects with them.

A wife offending against her husband, had no other judge but the offended husband himself, who might punish her as he pleased. When she was accused of breach of conjugal faith, or convicted of drinking wine, which wives were absolutely forbid by the law; then the husband convened her nearest relations, and with them judged the offence. Romulus considered these two crimes as the most heinous they could be capable of, persuaded that if adultery is the violation of the most sacred bond of society, drunkenness naturally leads to adultery. The wisdom of this law may be judged of by its good effects upon the wives for many ages, wherein there was neither complaint of adultery, nor any instance of divorce. The first instance seen in Rome was some years after the first Punic war. Sp. Carvilius divorced his wife, upon his oath before the censors, that he put her away only for barrenness. Notwithstanding the plausibleness of this motive, he drew upon himself for the residue of his life the indignation of all Rome.

ways of marrying, Confarreatio, from the offering among other things a wheat loaf. Coemptio, by mutual sale, when the parties bound themselves to one another by giving

and taking a piece of money. Usus, by use, when with the consent of friends the woman had lived with the man a whole year. The two first only were called matres-familias.

Romulus gave fathers an absolute power over their children, without any limitation of time, and which remained in force at whatever age or dignity they had attained. By virtue of this power, fathers could imprison, scourge, fetter, put to labour, sell, and even punish their children with death (*a*). History affords several instances, but which always raise indignation, and to which we cannot be reconciled. A master, after once selling, had no more power over his slave: A son † was not freed from a father's sovereign authority, 'till sold three times. We shall see presently the severity of this law mitigated by Numa's ordinance, that when a father had permitted his son to marry, his power to sell him should cease. And indeed, as Plutarch observes, it was very hard and unjust, that a woman who had espoused a freeman, should after that find herself, by the caprice of her father-in-law, married to a slave.

In vit.
Num.
P. 71.

This sovereign authority in husbands and fathers, tempered no doubt by the sentiments of goodness and lenity which nature failed not to inspire, greatly contributed to keep all in order and a just subordination.

The king, intent upon all the parts of government, and knowing the difficulty of managing the people, perceived that the use of laborious exercises, which lead to virtue, was properer than precepts, for regulating their manners, and teaching them to prefer justice to interest, to esteem virtue above all, and to inure to toil. To this end, he left to slaves and foreigners the mechanical arts, which often serve

(*a*) In liberos suprema patrum auctoritas esto: venundare, occidere liceto, *or* licito.

† Si pater filium ter venunduit, filius à patre liber esto.

to indulge the passions, excite carnal desires, enervate the body, and darken the mind. The Romans long thought these arts and occupations beneath them, nor would any citizen apply himself to them. He allowed the freemen but two professions, war and agriculture. These two employments he parted not, but joined them together. The first Romans were all husbandmen, and the husbandmen were all soldiers. Now husbandmen, whose possessions are in lands, are tied to the state by stronger bonds than artificers, who in public dangers can easily remove. In time of peace he used them all to labour in the country, except on the days they were obliged to go to market. Then he permitted them to come to town for their affairs, both to sell and to buy, having ordered the market to be kept every ninth day. During war, he enjoined all to take arms, and without distinction to share the hardships and profits. Pursuant to this law, he divided among them the lands, slaves, and money taken from the enemy. By so equitable a conduct he found them always ready to meditate new conquests.

This in general, for I have omitted many particulars, is what Dionysius Halicarnassensis relates of the order established by Romulus in the commonwealth. Herein appear the seeds and principles of almost every thing that conduced afterwards to the grandeur of Rome, and rendered her government so admirable.

I should now proceed to the actions of Romulus: but I shall first insert one observation, which will conduce to the understanding of the Roman history in the following ages.

What I have said from Dionysius Halicarnassensis, that Romulus allowed the freemen but two professions, war and agriculture, and for-

Various occupations of the people.

Dionys. l. 2 p. 98.

bad them the exercise of trades and mechanical arts, leaving such mean and ignoble employments to slaves and foreigners, seems to me liable to some objection.

Plutarch, in the life of Numa, says, as will be seen presently, that he distributed the meaner citizens according to their several trades, as goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, and the like. He found them therefore already settled in Rome; and the thing could hardly be otherwise in a people composed of a great number of adventurers, who could not look upon these employments as beneath them. So what Dionysius Halicarnassensis seems to say of all the citizens in general, must be applied only to the greatest part, who certainly were employed in agriculture: but many continued at Rome to exercise the several trades necessary to the occasions of life.

How else could the city be filled with inhabitants? there would then have been at Rome only rich citizens, or slaves and foreigners: an absurdity in itself shocking and contradicted by all history, which informs us that the meaner people were precisely those that lived in the city. To this may be added, that in the establishment of the centuries by Servius Tullius, there is one appointed for such citizens as possessed not in effects the value of twelve thousand five hundred *asses*. What could such poor citizens do, and how could they subsist without some trade? Livy observes^(a), that, according to some authors, on urgent occasions were listed tradesmen and shopkeepers, people (says he) very unfit for war. It is evident then, both by these and a thousand other facts which might be

(a) Opificum quoque vulgaris & sellularii, minime militiæ idoneum genus, exciti dicuntur. *Liv.* l. 8. c. 20.

alleged,

alleged, that there were Roman citizens of mechanical professions.

It is true, agriculture was held in great honour by the antient Romans: and those that bore arms were usually taken from the plough: for all the citizens of any substance possessed landed estates. Now the Republic committed the defence of the safety of the state but to those who were concerned in it by the motive also of defending their own property.

According to this system the tradesmen were the most contemptible part of all the people; and their being of little account, it is plain, gave occasion to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, ever inclined to extol and magnify the Romans, to erase the tradesmen entirely out of the list of the citizens.

Let us then distinguish the people into citizens living in the country, and citizens dwelling in the city.

I. Those of the country cultivated either their own or the lands of the public and of private persons, which they hired at a certain rent. The lands acquired by new conquests from the neighbouring nations, were either sold for the benefit of the public treasury, or distributed to poor citizens, who paid a small acknowledgment to the state. I have already observed, that these inhabitants of the country came to town on market-days, that is, every ninth day, as well for their private affairs, as to be present at the assemblies. These were the most noble part of the people to the end of the Republic. The country tribes have always been considered as more honourable than those of the city. They were the chief strength of the state, furnished soldiers, filled the armies, and ever had more

exalted and noble sentiments than the multitude which dwelt in the city.

Nem 15.
& 16. II. The city inhabitants were variously employed, some in a more, some in a less honorable way. The several occupations are almost all mentioned in Cicero's fourth oration against Cataline.

1. The cashiers of the treasury: *Tribuni æarii*. Through their hands passed the money for payment of the army, which they received from the Questor, and distributed to the soldiers.

2. Public notaries: *Scribæ*. Most of the magistrates, as the Questors, Ediles, Pretors, had always some of these about them, to set down the public acts which were deposited in their hands. These two employments were more honorable than the following.

3. Merchants, traders. There were two sorts; by wholesale, and by retale. Cicero puts a great difference between them. "As for merchandize, (says he) that which deals by retale, and is of no great extent, is mean. But that which turns upon large dealings, and bringing from all parts plenty of things useful in life, supplies every man with what he wants, is not to be found fault with, when carried on without fraud and deceit. Nay, it has nothing but what is honorable and praise-worthy, provided the trader is not insatiable, but content with a fair and reasonable profit."

P. 1. b. 1. 3.
p. 1. 7. 6. Traffic, even by sea, seems to have been established at Rome under their kings, since the first year after their expulsion, the Romans made a treaty with the Carthaginians (mentioned in it's place) by which it appears the commerce of the Romans reached as far as Africa.

4. Bankers, whether public, *Mensarii*; or private, *Argentarii*.

5. Trades-

5. Tradesmen and artificers; of whom I have spoken.

6. Freedmen: *Liberti*.

7. The lower officers of the magistrates: *Accensi*, *Interpretes*, *Præcones*, *Liçtores*, *Viatores* (1). They were generally freedmen.

In the course of the history it will be seen, that the meaner people of Rome exercised the wisest heads of the Republic, were chiefly concerned in the seditions, and in later times hiring themselves to wicked and daring citizens, first corrupted the state, and then contributed not a little to it's subversion.

I have not mentioned the Roman knights, who in time will make a separate and very considerate body, and of whom one of the chief employments will be to collect the public money, under the name of *Publicani*. I shall have occasion to speak of them. I return to Romulus.

(1) *Accensi*, from *accieo*, to send for. They attended on the magistrates, and at the bench of justice, to call witnesses, signify the adjournment of the court, and gave notice every three hours what it was a-clock.

Præcones, from *præcieo*. They proclaimed things in the street, assisted at public sales, to declare how much every one bids, and the like.

Liçtores, from *ligo*, to bind.

Viatores, were a sort of

Liçtors, that went before the officers of less dignity, as the Tribunes, &c. As they were used in antient times to call the senators out of the country, Cicero derives their name from thence; as if they were to ply about the roads in search of the rural fathers.

These and other inferior officers had the common name of *Apparitores*, from *appareo*, because they always stood ready to execute their master's orders.

S E C T. II.

Rape of the daughters of the Sabines and other neighbouring nations. Romulus defeats the Cæninenses, and brings off opima spolia. He subdues also the Antemnates and Crustuminians. Sharp war with the Sabines, ended by a treaty of peace. Tatius and Romulus reign together. Death of Tatius. Romulus defeats the Fidenates, the Camerini, and the Veientes. Death of Romulus. He is honoured as a god.

*Rape of
the Sabine
virgins.
Liv. l. i.
c. c. 12.
Dionys. p.
97—111.
Plut. p. 25
—31.*

ROME, in a short space, was greatly increased, and became a match for her most powerful neighbours. But as the number of the women, that had settled there, bore no proportion to that of the men, her greatness could not last long. Rome was surrounded with many strong and warlike nations, with whom Romulus had thoughts to make matrimonial alliances, which have always been deemed the firmest bonds of amity. He much doubted the reception of his proposal by these nations, of whom not one was a friend to Rome. However, to avoid all self-reproaches, he thought proper first to use gentle methods. He sent therefore, by the advice of the senate, ambassadors to these nations to demand their daughters in marriage for his subjects. He represented to them, “Cit-
“ties, like other human things, had mean-
“beginnings: but in time those that were sup-
“ported by the courage of their inhabitants,
“and aided by the divine protection, acquired
“great reputation and power. It was mani-
“fest the gods had presided at the establish-
“ment of the Romans: nor was it less evi-
“dent, that courage would not be wanting.
“He

“ He desired them to favour his request, and
 “ not disdain, since they were all of the same
 “ nature, to join in alliance with their fellow-
 “ creatures (a).”

What Romulus had foreseen, came to pass. His proposal was no where received: whether through contempt for a confused band of adventurers, of a base and dishonorable origin, or rather because these nations saw with uneasiness and jealousy, a power rising in the midst of them, which begun already to give them umbrage, and might become formidable to their posterities. They added insult to their refusal, asking the ambassadors, “ Why their master
 “ had not opened also an asylum for women,
 “ which would have produced suitable matches,
 “ and prevented mutual reproaches.”

Romulus was highly exasperated by this affront: but, however, he concealed his resentment. He gave out that he intended to celebrate a festival in honour of *Neptunus Equester* (1), otherwise called *Consus* *, and invited the neighbouring cities to the ceremony, which was accompanied with all the magnificence those times would admit. Curiosity, and a desire to see the new city, drew thither an extraordinary number of spectators. The Cæninenses, Crustuminians, and Antemnates, as nearest Rome, came first.

(a) *Urbes quoque, ut cætera, ex infimo nasci: deinde, quas sua virtus ac Dii juvent, magnas opes sibi magnumque nomen facere. Satis scire, origini Romanæ & Deos affuisse, & non defuturam virtutem. Proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem & genus miscere. Liv.*

(1) *So called from creating the first horse, which came out of the ground at the stroke of his trident.*

* *Romulus had some time before caused a report to be spread, that he had found a subterraneous altar of a certain god named Consus, or the god of counsels. Plut. in vit. Rom. p. 25.*

The

The Sabines of Cures followed the multitudes with their wives and children. They were received in general with all possible marks of kindness and friendship. Every citizen had his guest, and treated him the best he could. In viewing the buildings both publick and private, and the walls of the city, they could hardly conceive it possible, that such progress should be made in so short a time. When the games were begun, and the minds as well as eyes of the spectators were wholly employed, the Roman youth, at a signal agreed on, spread themselves on all sides, and carried off the daughters of the strangers without choice and distinction. One among the rest of singular beauty attracting all eyes, those that seized her, cried out, *Thalassio, Thalassio*, that is, for Thalassius, a young Roman of one of the best families in Rome; and his name, repeated then several times, gave rise to a custom observed afterwards at all weddings of singing (*Thalassio*) with frequent repetitions (1).

The fathers of the virgins thus taken away by force, full of indignation and threats, depart from the city, invoking the gods avengers of the sacred laws of hospitality, especially Neptune, whose festival was made subservient to so black and heinous a treachery. The grief and resentment of the virgins were not less violent and just. Romulus endeavoured to comfort them, by representing, “ He intended
 “ them no violence; they could in reason
 “ blame only their fathers, who had scornfully
 “ and cruelly rejected his proposals. A tran-
 “ sient injury often occasioned a more tender
 “ and durable friendship. He intreated them
 “ to be pacified, and surrender their hearts to
 “ those, whom fortune had put in possession

(1) *As the Greeks did Hymenæus.*

“ of their persons (a).” The young Romans on their part pleading passion and love in excuse for what they had done, strove to gain them by caresses and all kinds of good treatment.

The number of these virgins amounted to almost seven hundred. This rape is believed to happen in the fourth year of Romulus. To remove all signs of rape and violence, Romulus ordered the same ceremonies to be observed at these marriages, as were used in the places where the virgins were born, but especially the ceremony for community of fire and water†, which subsisted at Rome many ages (1).

A. M.
3256.
Ant. C.
784.
An. R. 4.

The brides, gained by the kind usage and complaisance of their husbands, began to be appeased and reconciled to their change of condition. But the resentment of their fathers daily increased. They breathed nothing but war and revenge. Incensed and afflicted, they went from city to city, with tears in their eyes, to implore the assistance of their neighbours.

The Cæninenses thought this assistance too slow, and whilst the rest in their opinion were losing time in deliberation, Acron their king erected the first standard against the Romans, and took the field with his forces alone to ravage their territories. Romulus went out to meet him, and showed him, that rage without

Romulus's
wars with
the neigh-
bouring
nations.

(a) Patrum id superbia factum, qui connubium finitimis negassent. Mollirent modo iras; & quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent animos. Sæpe ex injuria postmodum gratiam ortam.—

† In all treaties and marriages, a community of fire and water was entered into, as a mark of perfect union. Hence

to exclude any one from the public society, he was forbid fire and water.

(1) Among other ceremonies, the bride upon her entrance into the bridegroom's house, was presented by him with two vessels, one of fire, the other of water, as a communication of goods. Plut. in Rom.

strength

strength is a feeble support. He vigorously attacked the Cæninenſes, ſlew their king with his own hand, routed his army, and without oppoſition took the city where he reigned. Capable of greater actions, and as well qualified to improve them, he returned at the head of his army, cloathed in a purple robe, and crowned with laurel, carrying in his hand a trophy made with the arms of Acron. The troops ranged in order of battle, ſung hymns in honour of the gods, and with unpoliſhed verſe and martial ſongs celebrated the conqueror's praiſes. He marched in this manner to Rome, where he was received with all the greateſt demonſtrations of admiration and joy. This pomp was the origin and model of the triumphs, which were afterwards celebrated with ſo much magnificence. To crown ſo noble a day, and render it immortal, Romulus marked out on the Capitol-hill a place for a temple, dedicated to Jupiter, with the title of *Feretrius* *, for a depository of the ſpoils his deſcendants ſhould take from a king or a general of the enemies ſlain with their own hand.

Such was the original of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis obſerves, that in his time were ſtill ſeen the remains of this antient temple, ſmall, narrow, without walls, and in it's greateſt length not exceeding fifteen foot.

The ſpoils of king Acron, carried to this temple, were the firſt *opime ſpoils*, ſo called from the Latin word *opimus*, a derivative of *ops*, ſignifying *abundance*, to denote theſe to be the moſt honourable of all ſpoils. The gods

* Jupiter was thus named from the Latin word *Feretrum*, which Livy uſes here to ſignify the trophy carried by Romulus on this glorious occaſion.

(ſays

(says Livy) (a) confirmed Romulus's prediction, that in time such spoils should be brought thither, but would not suffer that honour to be lessened by too great a number of sharers. Only two Romans, after Romulus, in the space of so many years, and in the course of so many wars, acquired this glorious distinction: namely, A. Cornelius Cossus, after killing Lars Tolumnius king of the Veientes in the year of Rome 318, and M. Claudius Marcellus, who in the year 530 slew Britomarus king of the Gauls.

In the mean time, an incursion was made on the territories of Rome by the Antemnates. The Romans taking the field, quickly repulse the enemy, and pursue them to their city, which is taken without much opposition. The Crustuminians, half-vanquished by the double defeat of their allies, make no farther resistance.

Romulus, who like a good politician, thought only of gaining the heart of the neighbouring nations, used the cities he had taken with clemency and lenity. He only proposed to them to receive Roman colonies, and cause such of their inhabitants as were willing, to come and settle at Rome. The offer was gladly accepted. The people of Rome were increased with above three thousand new citizens. They were soon distributed in the tribes and Curiae, so that the Roman foot amounted now to six thousand.

The last as well as fiercest assault the Romans had to sustain, was from the Sabines (1). *War with the Sabines ended by a*

(a) Ita deinde Diis visum, nec irritam conditoris templi vocem esse, qua laturos eò spolia posteros nuncupavit; nec multitudine compotum, ejus doni vulgari laudem. Bina postea inter tot annos, tot bella, opima parta sunt spo-

lia; adeo rara ejus fortuna pacis, decoris fuit Liv. l. 1. c. 10. which u-

(1) The Sabines inhabited the country between the Tiber, two names; and were near neighbours to Rome.

The

The Sabines, besides having a greater number of forces, shewed much more prudence and bravery than the other nations, who yielding to passion, had inconsiderately, notwithstanding their weakness, acted by themselves, and rushed into an important war without precautions and preparations. Here every thing was concerted and prepared beforehand. Tatius, head and king of the Sabines of Cures, before he appeared in the field, had taken all proper measures to accomplish his designs. To these he added also stratagem and fraud. Sp. Tarpeius commanded in the citadel of Rome, situate on the hill, afterwards called *Capitolinus*. His daughter going out to draw water for a sacrifice, Tatius bribed her with money to open a postern-gate to his troops. When the soldiers were entered, they crushed her to death with their bucklers, whether to appear to have taken the citadel by force and not by fraud, or to make her an example to traitors. The thing is told in a different manner, but with the air of a fiction. As the Sabines had on their left-hand bracelets and rings of great beauty and value, it is said, the young woman desired, without speaking more distinctly, what they wore on their left arms, and that the soldiers threw their bucklers upon her, pretending thus to perform their promise. This particular is also related another way: but these various accounts of a dark and inconsiderable story ought not to interrupt us.

Tarpeia being buried on the hill, gave it the name of *Tarpeius*, which it retained 'till the building of the capitol, and even then lost it not so entirely, but that a steep part, from whence state-criminals were thrown down, was called by the hated name of *the Tarpeian rock*.

In whatever manner Tarpeia died, the Sabines became masters of the citadel. On the morrow, the Romans marching to attack it, the Sabines came down, and all prepared for battle. The leaders were Romulus and Tatius. At the head of the two armies marched two brave officers; Mettius Curtius on the side of the Sabines, and on the side of the Romans Hostus Hostilius. Hostilius sustained some time by his courage and bravery the attacks of the enemy: but falling dead in the field, his troops were put to flight, and pursued to a place called by Livy the old gate of Palatium. Romulus, who had himself been carried away by the flight of his men, beholding with extreme grief this disorder, had recourse to Jupiter, and lifting up his hands to heaven, vowed to build him in that very place a temple, by the name of *Jupiter Stator* *, to serve as a monument to posterity, that Rome was saved by his protection. Then, inwardly persuaded, or at least willing to have it believed, that his prayer was heard: *Romans* (says he to the soldiers) *the most gracious and great Jupiter commands you to stand and return to the fight.* That moment, as if a voice had sounded from heaven, they stopt short. Curtius vigorously pursued them, crying out, *We have vanquished the treacherous hosts, the cowardly enemies. They now perceive the difference between ravishing virgins, and fighting with men.* As he was thus speaking, Romulus with a chosen troop of youths fiercely marches against him, attacks him, and puts him to flight. The Roman army, encouraged by their king's example, rush upon the Sabines, and put their

* This name is derived from the Latin word *stare*, signifying to stop.

army to rout. Curtius, getting out of a marsh where his horse had carried him, returned to the head of his troops, and renewed the fight. But still the Romans had the advantage.

Then, by the advice of Herfilia (1), the Sabine women, whose rape had occasioned the war, with dishevelled hair and rent cloaths, forced by their unhappy situation to forget the natural fearfulness of their sex, had the courage to advance among the flying darts. In the utmost distraction, holding their children in their arms, and uttering mournful cries, they threw themselves into the midst of the soldiers, equally exasperated against one another, to part and reconcile them. Turning one while to their fathers, another while to their husbands; “*You are all united*” (say they) *by the sacred names of sons-in-law*” *and fathers-in-law: pollute not yourselves with*” *blood that cannot be shed without guilt. Brand*” *not your wretched children, sons of the one, and*” *grandsons of the other, with the dishonourable*” *stain of being descended from a race of parri-*” *cides. If the alliance contracted between you*” *by our marriage be so grievous to you, turn*” *your rage against us, who are the cause of this*” *fatal war, and of the unfortunate discord which*” *arms you against one another. It will be better*” *to perish by your hands, than to survive you ei-*” *ther widows or orphans (a).”*

All

(1) Herfilia, among all the daughters of the Sabines that were seized by the Romans, was the only married woman. She was mistaken for a virgin, or, it is said, would not leave her only daughter. Some will have her to be mother of Tullus Hostilius, third King

of Rome. Others say she became wife of Romulus.

(a) Hinc patres, hinc viros orantes, ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent: ne parricidio macularent partus suos, nepotum illi, liberum hi progeniem. Si affinitatis inter vos,

All were moved with so pathetic a speech, and laid down their arms. A profound and general silence ensued. The leaders on both sides advance to commence a treaty. A truce is immediately agreed on. Presently after, a treaty of peace and alliance between the two nations is confirmed on these terms: Romulus and Tatius should be kings of the Romans with equal power, and with the same honours: The city should still retain her founder's name, but the people in general should be called *Quirites*, from *Cures* the capital of the Sabines, where Tatius resided: All Sabines that pleased might settle at Rome, with liberty to bring with them their gods and particular customs; and should be incorporated in the Tribes and *Cyriæ*. Pursuant to this treaty, Tatius remained at Rome, with three of the most considerable persons of his nation. The numerous train of relations, friends, clients, which they drew after them, brought into the city as many strangers as there were natives. Cicero (*a*) justly admires Romulus's profound wisdom in his treaty with the Sabines, and questions not but this treaty was the fountain, principle, and foundation of all the Roman power and grandeur, by the good custom, established afterwards by the example of Romulus, and inviolably observed at all times, of

vos, si connubii piget, in nos vertite iras: nos causa belli, nos vulnerum ac cædium viris ac parentibus sumus. Melius peribimus, quam sine alieris vestrum viduæ aut orbæ vivemus. *Liv.* I. i. c. 13.

(*a*) Illud sine ulla dubitatione maxime nostram fundavit imperium, & populi R.

nomen auxit, quod princeps ille creator hujus urbis Romulus fœdere Sabino docuit, etiam hostibus recipiendis augeri hanc civitatem opere. Cujus auctoritate & exemplo nunquam est intermissa à majoribus nostris largitio & communicatio civitatis. *Cic. in orat. pro Corn. Balbo*, n. 31.

admitting among the citizens the vanquished enemies, and granting them the freedom of Rome.

*Number of
senators
doubled
Dionys.
l. 2. p. 111
—115.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 14.
Plut. p. 30,
32.* This increase of citizens caused the two kings to think of augmenting the number of Patricians and Senators. The Patrician families were first chosen, and then out of these new families were named one hundred new senators. This election was made by the suffrage of the Curiae, who named a hundred persons to be added to the first hundred, and to take, like the others, the name and title of Patricians.

*Extent of
Rome en-
larged.* Romulus and Tatius employed their first cares in enlarging the city. They took in mount Quirinalis and mount Cœlius. They made separate houses where they resided, dividing the city between them. Romulus's quarters were on mount Palatine, and mount Cœlius which stands near it. Tatius's were on mount Capitolinus*, which he had first possessed himself of, and mount Quirinalis. The plain at the foot of mount Capitolinus was formerly a wood, which had been grubbed. There remained a large pond, fed by the waters which flow from these two hills. It was filled up with earth, and became what was afterwards called the *Roman Forum*. They built also several temples to as many gods.

The two kings reigned in Rome five years in good harmony. During that time they marched together against the Camerini, who had committed some ravages on the Roman ter-

* This hill was called,
1. Mons Saturnius, from Saturn who had formerly lived there. 2. Mons Tarpeius from the famous Tarpeia, who was buried there. 3. Mons

Capitolinus, because in digging the foundation of Jupiter's temple, a man's head was found. This last name carried it from the other two.

ritory. These people were vanquished in a battle, their city taken by assault, and for a punishment of their rashness they were deprived of their arms, and dispossessed of the third part of their lands. Some time after, they repeated their ravages, but were quickly punished. They were entirely defeated by the whole Roman army, and their effects shared by the conquerors. The inhabitants of Cameria being permitted to settle at Rome, four thousand came thither. They were distributed in the Curiaë, and their city became a Roman colony.

In the sixth year of Tatius's reign, Romulus was again invested with the whole royal power by the death of his colleague, which happened in this manner. Some of Tatius's friends had made incursions upon the territory of Lavinium, and carried away a quantity of cattle: nay, they had wounded and killed several of those who had opposed their ravages. The Lavinians sent to Rome to demand justice for the injury they had suffered. Romulus judged it reasonable to deliver up the authors of the injury to the mercy of those who had received it, and to punish the offenders. Tatius, gained by his friends, pretended it was not just to deliver up citizens to foreigners their enemies, and required that the complainants should come and plead their cause at Rome, and stand by the sentence of the Romans. This was the first and only dispute between Romulus and Tatius. Hitherto they had shewn great regard for one another, and seemed to act with with one mind.

The ambassadors departed, very angry at not obtaining the satisfaction demanded: and as they were obliged to encamp on the road, because they were overtaken by the night, some Sabines, who had followed them, giving way

to their unjust resentment, entered their tents whilst they were asleep, plundered them, took away their money, and murdered such as were without defence. The rest, who escaped their fury, being returned to Livinium, put the whole city in commotion. Other ambassadors were sent in conjunction with those of some other cities, to complain of this breach of the law of nations, and to proclaim war against Rome, if justice was denied.

Romulus disapproved, as he ought, these proceedings with the ambassadors. He thought a crime committed against the most sacred laws could not be too quickly punished; and, without loss of time, perceiving Tatius seemed to slight a thing of that consequence, ordered the offenders to be seized, and delivered them in irons to the ambassadors to be tried at Lavinium. Tatius took this as an affront to his person and dignity, and, being the more inclined to favour the criminals because one of them was his relation, went and rescued them by force from the ambassadors.

Shortly after, according to some historians, the two kings went to Lavinium, on account of a sacrifice to be offered in person to the gods of their fathers, the tutelar gods of the Trojans, for the welfare of the state. The relations and friends of the ambassadors that had been cruelly murdered, fell upon Tatius, and with the same knives that had served to kill the victims, stabbed him at the foot of the altar. The death of Tatius is by historians variously related; but all agreed he was killed at Lavinium. It is not conceivable how, after such grievous and just causes of discontent given to the Lavinians, he should have the imprudence to put himself into their power. Providence often
blinds

blinds those it designs to punish. Such was the end of Tatius. He had made war upon Romulus three years, and reigned six with him. His body was carried to Rome, and buried in great pomp.

Romulus, once more become sole master of Rome, expiated the murder of the ambassadors by banishing the offenders, which was called at Rome forbidding water and fire. This was the only punishment he could inflict on them, because they had withdrawn after Tatius's death. He would also revenge that prince's assassination, by causing those concerned in it to be delivered up, and to appear before his tribunal. They appeared indeed, but defended themselves so well, showing they had only taken a just revenge, that they were acquitted and dismissed. This sentence, for the murder of a king, may seem strange, and perhaps gave occasion to the report that Romulus had not appeared so touched with this murder as he should have been, whether because it is rare and difficult for two kings, between whom the authority is divided, to live together in sincerity, or because he really thought Tatius deservedly murdered (*a*).

Having thus pacified matters, he went at the head of his troops and besieged Fidenæ, a city considerable for largeness and number of inhabitants, and situated forty stadia (about five miles) from Rome. The Fidenates had plundered some boats of provisions sent to Rome by the Crustumini in a time of famine, and had kill'd those that opposed their violence. Not

(*a*) Eam rem minùs ægrè, quàm dignum erat, tulisse Romulum ferunt; seu ob infidam societatem regni, seu quia haud injuria cæsum credebatur. *Liv. c. 14.*

content with this outrage, they refused the satisfaction required. Romulus, to punish them, made inroads upon their territory; and as he was returning with a great booty, these people attacked him with a large army. The fight was violent on both sides, and followed with a great slaughter. Romulus however gained the victory, and pursuing the vanquished enemy, took their city. He put the offenders to death, deprived the rest of the third part of their lands, which was divided among the soldiers; and leaving a garrison of three hundred men, made it a Roman colony.

This expedition was hardly ended, when he turned his arms against the Camerini, who, whilst the plague raged at Rome, thinking she would never recover her losses, had killed part of the Roman colony, and expelled the rest. Romulus took their city a second time; punished the authors of the rebellion with death; gave up the city to plunder; seized half their lands besides the third part given to the former colony, and leaving a strong garrison to keep them in awe, led back his army to Rome.

He did not remain long in peace. A fresh war, more dreadful than the former ones, soon forced him to take up arms against the Veientes, the most powerful in riches and strength of the twelve nations that inhabited Hetruria. Veii their capital stood about twelve miles from Rome, on a steep rock, which made it the strongest place in the country. They had attacked Romulus on account of Fidenæ, which was originally of Hetruria, and which they required should be restored to it's antient rights. The two armies took the field, and fought several battles. In the last the Veientes being entirely defeated with great loss, sent to sue for peace,

peace, which was granted them. Romulus, after depriving them of part of their territory called *Septem pagi*, and some salt-pits at the mouth of the Tyber, made an alliance with them for a hundred years. The articles of the treaty were engraven on brazen pillars. The prisoners taken in the fight were released without ransom. Such as chose to settle at Rome, which was the greatest part, were made citizens, and lands on this side the Tyber were divided among them by lot.

These were the transactions at Rome under Romulus, who was always at war, and always victorious, and who in the midst of wars laid the foundation of religion and the laws. None of his actions (says Livy) contradicted the opinion of his divine extraction, or the belief of his being a god after his death. He was indeed in all respects a great man: particularly in the courage he shewed to restore his grandfather to the throne; in the design he formed to build a powerful city; and in the wise measures he took to strengthen it, as well by his wars, always successful because always just, as by a glorious peace the fruit of his wars, which he established upon so firm a foundation, that it lasted forty years after him without any breach.

Romulus, it seems, after his victory over the Veientes, believing he had nothing more to fear from foreign enemies, affected to reign too imperiously over his subjects, and particularly endeavoured to weaken and depress the senate, whose wise counsels and generous freedom were in his opinion an obstruction to the arbitrary power he designed to assume, contrary to the original institution of the royal dignity, to which he had been advanced by the common consent of the people. And this proved his destruction.

*Death of
Romulus
He is de-
ified.*

The death of Romulus is variously related. The general report was, that during a review of his troops near *the goat's pond*, a terrible storm suddenly arose, with frightful thunders and impetuous whirlwinds, accompanied with so thick a darkness, that the king was snatched from the sight of the assembly, and from that moment Romulus never more appeared on earth. The people, who in their first fright were dispersed on every side, coming a little to themselves on the appearance again of the light, and seeing the royal seat empty, fell into profound sorrow; and though they were well inclined to believe what the Senators said, that Romulus was carried up into heaven in the storm, yet, full of their loss, they remained some time without motion, and buried in silence. But returning to their speech by degrees, some begin, and all together unanimously join, *to salute him as the son of a god, and a god himself, as the king and father of Rome, and to intreat him to be propitious for ever to his people, his own race and family, and never to withdraw from them his divine and almighty protection.*

The testimony of Proculus Julius, a Patrician of great credit and known probity, very much helped to confirm this belief. During the people's trouble and consternation, he comes into the midst of the assembly, and says: O Romans, *Romulus the founder and father of this city suddenly descending from heaven, appeared to me this day. Struck with a sacred horror and profound veneration, I prayed him to permit me to look upon him. Go (replies he), tell the Romans, it is the pleasure of the gods that my city become the capital of the world: and therefore let them cultivate to the utmost of their power the art of war: and let them know and hand down to posterity, that no human*

human power shall be able to withstand the Roman arms. Having thus spoken (says Proculus) he vanished away.

It is astonishing how much this speech, which fixed the belief of Romulus's immortality, comforted and encouraged all the people and army. It is to be presumed Proculus was well paid for his testimony, as, long after, Livia amply rewarded Numerius Atticus a senator, who affirmed upon oath that he saw Augustus's soul ascend into heaven. Dion Cass. l. 56. p. 600.

Here we have a very clear and circumstantial prediction of the future greatness of Rome, and perpetuity of her empire. At a time when the city, surrounded with jealous and powerful enemies, and hardly encompassed with walls, is yet weak and not without fears, Romulus affirms it to be the will of the gods that Rome be the head of the universe: *Cælestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit.* The same gods order it to be told from age to age, that no human power shall be able to resist the victorious arms of the Romans: *Sciantque, & ita posteris tradant, nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.* Predictions of the power of Rome.

This double prediction will hereafter be inculcated with still greater force and energy, by two notable prodigies, whose meaning will be neither dark nor uncertain. A man's head dug up in the foundations of the Capitol, will clearly foretel that this citadel will be the head of the world: *Quæ visa species, haud per ambages, arcem eam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat.* Liv. l. 1. c. 55. Id. ibid. And the obstinate resistance of the god *Terminus**, who will steadfastly refuse to quit his

* Livy, in the end of his fifth book, says the goddess of youth did the same.

place, when all the rest of the gods consent with a good grace to relinquish theirs, will evidently show that the Roman empire shall have neither term nor bound; according to Jupiter's express promise to Venus.

Virg. Æn.
l. 1. ver.
282.

His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono :
Imperium sine fine dedi.

*To these I fix no bounds of place or time,
But endless empire grant.*

It is easily seen, without my observing, that these and many other the like predictions, were made after the event, and are but the effect of the flattery of the historians and poets, idolizing the Roman grandeur, as plainly appears in all their writings. They gladly embraced this opportunity of making their court to Augustus, under whom, and in whom, great part of these prophecies were fulfilled.

Horace, like a good courtier, took care to insert, in many places of his poetry, the encomium of the Roman empire; but no where in more pompous terms than when he introduces Juno, the professed enemy of the Trojans and their posterity, foretelling, even against her will, that one day the Capitol shall stand refulgent, and proud Rome triumphantly give law to all nations, and her conquests know no bounds but those of the world itself.

——Stet Capitolium

Fulgens, triumphatîsque possit

Roma ferox dare jura Medis. ——

Quicumque mundi terminus obstitit,

Hunc tangat armis. ——

*Let th' exil'd Trojans reign in ev'ry land,
And let the Capitol in triumph stand,
And all the tributary world command.*

}
Let .

*Let awful Rome with sev'n refulgent heads,
Still keep her conquests o'er the vanquish'd Medes.
With conqu'ring terror let her arms extend
Her mighty name to shores without an end.*

Virgil, by a single word, improves this idea, lofty as it is, in defining the Romans to be A PEOPLE every where KING: *Populum latè regem*. And still more in another place, when Anchises, after running over the different talents peculiar to other nations, exhorts the Romans to remember it is their business, their talent, to rule the world.

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra, Virg. Æn.
l. 6. v.
847.
Credo equidem: vivos ducent de marmore
Orabunt causas melius.—— [vultus:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, me-
Hæ tibi erunt artes.—— [mento:

*Others shall best inspire the mimic brass;
Or out of marble carve a living face;
Plead with more force.——
Thee, heavens, brave Roman, form'd for high
Be these thy arts.—— [command,*

I cannot exactly fix the date of these fabulous predictions. But certain it is, that the Roman people at all times, even from the very beginning, always acted as if they had a secret foresight of their future greatness. Livy and Dionysius frequently take notice, that the Romans, whose wise policy, beginning with Romulus himself, they relate with admiration, seemed to be conducted and guided by a deity. This is much truer than they imagined. The supreme arbiter and governor of all the empires of the world, who has fixed their duration and limits, and particularly foretold the character and power of the Roman empire (as I have largely observed in the preface) inspired all the great men
at

at the helm of the Roman government with the courage and prudence requisite for the success of their undertakings; and presided, without it's being known, at the assemblies of the Senate and People, to direct their consultations and resolves to the end he had decreed, causing the very passions of men, however unjust, to be the instruments of performing his will, which is holiness and justice itself,

Indeed, when the wonderful actions of Romulus, both in peace and in war, are duly considered, and when there are seen united in him the rare qualities of a religious, warlike, victorious, politic Prince, one cannot help acknowledging the manifest signs of a particular providence, and we should not scruple to ascribe to the true God, what Livy, who knew no better, imputes to the pretended father of the founder of Rome, the god Mars, and the other deities. It has been remarked that Romulus, though very young, and in the infancy of Rome, established for the government of the state almost all the maxims which afterwards conduced to it's power and greatness. He did it without any foresight of the future. But another thought for him, and without consulting him, made him his instrument, referring all things to his design, which he kept as yet a secret, and delayed to reveal to the Heathen world by the event, whilst he discovered the mystery to his prophets and people.

There were, as I said, several reports concerning Romulus's death. That of his being killed by the Senators, seems very probable to Dionysius Halicarnassensis and Plutarch: Livy looks upon it as an idle and dark story. According to the two first historians, the Senators, in the latter end of his reign, were much displeased

pleased with Romulus, because they had no share in the management of affairs. Distinguished only with an empty title, they were convened merely for custom and form-sake, and not to give their advice. Their sole business was respectfully to receive the King's commands, and their only superiority over the people was to be first informed of what passed. However, this was thought tolerable. But when by his own authority Romulus came to distribute to his soldiers the conquered lands, and restore the Veientes their hostages without asking their consent, then they thought the Senate treated with injustice and contempt. He was also accused of adding to great pride an excessive severity in punishing offenders. Above all, it was highly resented, that of himself, and without calling a council, he had ordered a great number of Roman citizens to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock for plundering the lands of their neighbours. These causes of discontent made the Senators suspected of being concerned in his death. It is believed he was murdered in the Senate, and to conceal from the people so barbarous an act, each Senator carried away a piece of his body under his robe: a circumstance very improbable.

Admiration for his great qualities caused the other opinion, however absurd, to prevail in the minds of the Romans, because it was more favourable to his reputation, as well as to their glory and wishes. The Senate, unwilling to be thought accessory to his death, erected him altars, and made him a god whom they could not bear as a Sovereign. He was worshipped by the name of *Quirinus*. A temple was dedicated to him on the mount called from him *Quirinalis*. Several etymologies are given of the word

Plut. in Rom. p. 36.

word *Quirinus*. Some derive it from *Cures*, capital of the Sabines, from whence the Romans were called *Quirites*. Others, and with better grounds, derive it from *Curis* or *Quiris*, signifying in the Sabine language, *a dart*, and pretend the name *Quirinus* was given to Romulus as a warlike god. Servius, upon Virgil, observes, that Mars was also called Quirinus. Cicero (*a*) seems to make light of Romulus's divinity, and of those other deities of fresh date, to whom had been granted, as it were, the favour of being citizens in heaven.

In lib. 6.
Æn. ver.
859.

*Excomium
of Romu-
lus.*

Romulus cannot be denied the title of Great Prince, and must be owned to show throughout his whole reign an uncommon prudence and greatness of mind. I except the beginning, which was sullied with fratricide, and the end, if it be true, that he affected arbitrary power. The rape of the Sabine-women, contrary to all law, can no otherwise be excused, than by the necessity Romulus was under, and by the honorable methods and entreaties which had been previously used. This injury was advantageously repaired, not only by the union of the two nations, the only fountain of their power and greatness; but more especially by the indulgence, mutual affection, good usage, spirit of peace and concord, regard for conjugal modesty and chastity, with which Romulus cemented these marriages. What ought to create a great esteem for Romulus, as I observed, is, that by attentively considering his conduct, whether in peace or in war, his treatment of the vanquished nations, his fraternal admission of them into the

(a) Romulum nostri [consecraverunt] aliosque complures : quos quasi novos & ad-

scriptitios cives in cœlum receptos putant. *De nat. deor.* l. 3. n. 39.

freedom of Rome, his good custom of sending colonies to the conquered cities ; we perceive in his management almost all the maxims of sound policy, practised ever after by the Romans, and which rendered them lords of the universe.

It is not strange a Prince of this character should be lamented as Romulus was. Nothing but the belief of his being received among the gods could comfort the people, and dry up their tears. Thus died the founder of Rome and first King of the Romans, without leaving any children. He reigned thirty-seven, and lived fifty-five years, so that he was but eighteen years old when he assumed the reins of the government.

A. R. 37.
Ant. C.
715.

INTERREGNUM.

*After an Interregnum of a year, NUMA POM-
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THE death of Romulus, who had left no children, occasioned great troubles in Rome. There was yet no person, in a nation so recent, eminent enough among the rest to claim such a preference. The dispute lay between the two bodies which composed the Senate. The Sabines, who after Tatius's death had left the whole authority in the hands of Romulus, not to renounce their lawful right, demanded that the King should be chosen out of their nation. The old Romans on their side, could not bear the thoughts of submitting to a foreigner. In this difference of sentiments all, however, desired a King.

Liv. l. 1.
c. 17 & 18.
Dionys.
l. 2. p. 119.
—122.
Plut. in
Num. p.
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the insults of some neighbours jealous of the Roman power, agreed to commit alternately to one of their body, according to a settled order, the authority and command for five days, during which he should enjoy all the honour of sovereignty. This form of government lasted one year, and was called *Interregnum*. The same method and name were afterwards retained during a vacancy of the throne, and even in the time of the Republic, in the frequent intervals between the elections of the magistrates.

The people growing uneasy under this sort of government, began to murmur, and openly complained that their servitude was increased by having two hundred masters instead of one. Discontent was so loud, that it plainly appeared the people would endure no king but of their own chusing. The Senators perceiving what was preparing, thought it prudence to offer the people, what otherwise would be taken from them by force, and left them at liberty to elect a king, with this restriction however, that their choice should be confirmed and ratified by the Senate, which was, in some sense, a reservation of as much power as they gave. This proceeding was so grateful to the people, and so well received, that not to yield to the Senators in point of honour and deference, they entirely left to their suffrages the election of the king. It is excellent to see such a contest between senate and people. The sequel will afford many more instances which greatly redound to their honour.

The election became very difficult, the Romans and Sabines, which then composed the Senate, endeavouring each to chuse one of their nation. This partiality preventing their agreeing upon a choice, it was at last concluded to draw

draws lots which side should chuse, but with a proviso that the electors should chuse a king out of the other nation. Their aim was to inspire by that means the prince with an equal affection for both parties. For if on the one hand love of the nation should lead him to favour his countrymen, on the other hand gratitude would bind him to do justice to those to whom he owed his advancement. The right of election fell to the Romans.

There was at that time in Cures, a city so often mentioned, a man of great reputation for probity and justice, called Numa Pompilius. Naturally inclined to virtue, he had been well educated, which greatly strengthens and improves such good dispositions. He was inured betimes to hardship and toil, and extremely averse to ambition and violence, deeming true greatness to consist in ruling the passions, and keeping them in subjection to reason. Luxury and magnificence were unknown to him in any degree. He dedicated himself entirely to the service of the citizens and strangers, to whom he was counsellor, arbiter, and judge. He had a great veneration for the Deity, whose nature and perfections were his study. All these excellent qualities had gained him such reputation and glory, that Tatius, who reigned at Rome with Romulus, had made him his son-in-law, by giving him his only daughter *Tatia*. This marriage did not make him more vain, nor so much as induced him to go and settle at Rome with his father-in-law. He remained still in the country of the Sabines, to be assistant to a father in his old age. And his wife *Tatia*, conforming to his inclinations and sentiments, preferred an obscure and peaceable life with her husband; before all the honours the king her

*Character
of Numa.*

father could bestow on her at Rome. She died thirteen years after her marriage, and Numa, leaving the city, retired into the country, where, in sweet repose and agreeable solitude, he followed without reserve his natural inclination, which carried him to the study of morality and the contemplation of the Deity.

The Suffrages unite for Numa.

After long consultation, Numa Pompilius was chosen to fill the vacant throne. There are characters of virtue and probity which attract a general esteem and respect, which break through the passions of men and the strongest obstacles, and to which, though ever so unwilling, one is sometimes, as it were, forced to do justice. This was the case here. As soon as Numa Pompilius was named, all were united. Private views disappeared. It was forgot he was a foreigner, a Sabine, and not settled at Rome. His virtue, his wisdom, capable of making subjects happy, were only considered. With the consent of the people, the principal Senators of both parties were instantly sent to intreat his presence and acceptance of the crown.

He refuses the crown.

Numa was in his fortieth year when the Roman ambassadors came to him. The speakers were Volesus and Proculus, on one of whom it was at first thought the choice would fall, the Romans strongly favouring Proculus, and the Sabines being wholly inclined to Volesus. They imagined there would be no need of long speeches, but a bare proposal would be sufficient to obtain Numa's consent. And therefore they only told him in few words the occasion of their coming, and his election for their king by the Roman people. Then was his virtue known to be substantial, and his merit to surpass even his fame. He answered the ambassadors in the presence of his father and his friend Marcius to
this

this effect: “ He thought himself extremely
“ honoured by the offer made him from the
“ Roman people, but could not conceive how
“ it was possible he should be pitched upon to
“ fill so important a post. If he had any va-
“ luable qualities, they were all such as were
“ more proper to exclude him from, than re-
“ commended him to, a throne: love of repose,
“ a studious and retired life, a strong inclination
“ to peace, and a violent aversion to war. His
“ whole life had been spent with men; who as-
“ sembled on festival-days to worship the gods;
“ and employed the rest of their time in plow-
“ ing their lands, and feeding their flocks.
“ Every alteration in a man’s life was dan-
“ gerous, and it was folly for one that was
“ above want, and had no reason to complain
“ of his present circumstances, to relinquish an
“ easy and peaceable state for one full of vexa-
“ tion and trouble. In a word, Rome breath-
“ ing nothing but battles and victories, and
“ pursuing only grandeur and dominion; it
“ would be rashness in him to expect to inspire
“ her with sentiments of peace and moderation,
“ and to alter the conduct of a people; who
“ seemed to want rather a General than a King.”

This speech extremely surprized the ambassa-
dors, but at the same time filled them with a
fresh esteem for a man who looked down with
indifference and contempt on a crown, generally
deemed by all mortals the greatest happiness
and highest honour that can be aspired to. They
repeated their endeavours, and pressed him more
earnestly to yield to the desires of the Roman
people, praying and conjuring him not to throw
them, by his refusal, into new dissensions which
would end in a civil war, since none but he alone
would be acceptable to both parties.

*Numa,
upon his
father's
instances
accepts at
last of the
crown.*

When the ambassadors withdrew, his father and kinsman Marcius used their utmost endeavours to persuade him to accept an offer so advantageous, and so plainly appearing to be the will of the gods. “ If your moderation (say they) renders you insensible to riches, and makes you reckon the glory of dominion nothing in comparison to that of virtue, remember that to rule well is doing God the most acceptable homage and service. By him you are called to a throne that your love of justice and equity may not remain fruitless. Reject not therefore a kingdom, which to a wise man is the amplest field to perform great and noble actions. There the gods may be served with magnificence, and men inspired by soft and persuasive insinuations with sentiments of religion: for subjects are always influenced by the royal example. The Romans know how to value merit. They loved Tatius, though a foreigner, and have immortaliz’d the memory of Romulus with divine honours. Who knows but this victorious people may be tired of war, and abounding with triumph and spoil, desire now a ruler filled with lenity and justice, to govern them in peace, under good laws and sound policy. But should you still find in them this same inclination or rather madness for war, would it not be glorious to assume the reins, to turn this impetuous ardor another way, and unite by bonds of friendship and benevolence your country and the whole Sabine nation with a city so powerful and flourishing?” To these considerations were added, as it is said, very fortunate omens, which were seconded by the ardent zeal of the people of Cures. For when they heard the occasion of
this

this embassy, they went in a body and earnestly conjured him to accept the crown as an effectual means to join and incorporate them with the Romans.

Numa yielding at last, sacrificed to the gods and set out for Rome. The senate and people, strangely impatient to see him, came out to meet him. There was an universal joy. Vows by men and women were mixed with acclamations. Incense smoaked in the temples. When they came to the Forum, Spurius Vettius, the Inter-rex for the day, for form-sake, ordered the people to proceed to his election. He had all their voices, and that instant the royal ornaments were brought him, but he would not receive them, saying, his election must first be confirmed by the gods; and then taking with him the augurs and priests, he ascended the capitol, called at that time the Tarpeian-hill. The auspices were quick and favourable. Then An R. 39. Numa putting on the royal robe, went down to Ant. C. the Forum; where the acclamations of the people were renewed, who called him the most religious of men, and the best beloved of the gods. 713.

CHAP. II.

The REIGN of NUMA POM-
PILIUS.

SECT. I.

Numa applies himself to soften the manners of the Romans, and inspire them with a peaceable spirit by religious exercises. He builds the temple of Janus. His conversations with the nymph Egeria. He reforms the calendar. Creates the Pontifices. Regulates the functions of the Vestals. Establishes the Salii: then the Herald at Arms, or Feciales, and other Heralds for religious ceremonies. Wonderful effects of these institutions.

Numa institutes several religious exercises.
Dion. l. 2.
p. 123.

THE natural temper of Romulus, and the wants of a growing state, obliged him to be always sword in hand; and in his reign, the Romans, ever at war, increased by battles and slaughter the fierceness natural to a band of herdsmen and adventurers. Numa, called to the throne in the manner described, perceived that the grandeur, ornament, and happiness of Rome depended upon two things, which could not be too firmly established; (these are the words of a heathen writer :) first, upon a sincere piety towards the gods, which causes them to be regarded by mortals with reverence and gratitude, as the authors and preservers of every good thing; secondly, upon a zeal for justice, by which every particular person peaceably enjoys the blessings he has received at their hands.

hands. And indeed, these are the two bases of all wise governments, and the sum of all the duties of royalty : to render first to God, and then to man, whatever is their due. Kings are not Kings but for that purpose only.

Numa plainly saw, to accomplish his design Liv. l. 1. and infuse such sentiments into the Romans, his c. 19.

first care must be to soften and tame their minds, to extinguish by degrees their warlike ardor, and turn them insensibly to pacific and gentle exercises, which should cause them to forget and lose their first inclination. With this he begun.

As an acknowledgment to the gods for the tranquillity at Rome at his accession to the throne, *Temple of Janus.* he built in honour of Janus, a temple which was to be a public indication and sign of war and peace : of war, when open, of peace, when shut (1.). It continued shut his whole reign : but, afterwards, from his death to the time

(1) *Janus's temple was a square building (said to be all of brass), in which was a statue of Janus five foot high with brazen gates on each side. The custom of opening them in war and shutting them in peace is nobly described by Virgil in the following lines :*

Sunt geminæ belli portæ, sic nomine dicunt,
Religione sacræ & sævi formidine Martis:
Centum ærei claudunt vœces, æternaque ferri
Robora ; nec custos absistit limine Janus.
Has, ubi certa sedet patribus sententia pugnæ ;
Ipse, Quirinali trabea cinctoque Gabino
Insignis, reserat stridentia limina consul ;
Ipse vocat pugnas. — — Virg. Æn. vii. ver. 667.

*Two stately gates (the name of Mars they bear)
And still are worshipp'd with religious fear ;
Before his temple stand : The dire abode
And the fear'd issues of the furious god,
Are fenc'd with brazen bolts, without the gates
The wary guardian Janus doubly waits.
Then, when the sacred Senate votes the wars,
The Roman Consul their decree declares,
And in his robe the sounding gates unbars.*

of Livy's writing his history, it was shut but twice: first in the consulship of T. Manlius, some years after the end of the first Punic war; secondly, under Augustus, after the battle of Actium, which gave peace to the world: an advantage (says the historian) which the gods have granted our age: *Iterum, quod nostræ ætati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum, ab Imperatore Cæsare Augusto pace terra marique facta.* I desire the reader to observe with what modesty Livy, on the first occasion of mentioning the Emperor, speaks of an event which redounded so much to his glory, and how far the Antients were from that servile flattery which is too often the disgrace and reproach of our writings. Numa had alone the glory of keeping this temple shut a long time, that is, during the forty years of his reign: so much did a reverence for his virtue keep even the neighbouring nations within the bounds of peace and tranquillity.

*Character-
ization of
Numa
near Ege-
ria.*

A report, raised doubtless by himself, of his frequently conversing in private with the nymph Egeria, wonderfully disposed the people to receive all his new regulations as so many divine inspirations. Some such thing was said of Minos, Lycurgus, and afterwards of the first Scipio Africanus. These great men knowing the idea of a God to be deeply engraven on the heart of man, and to make there naturally a strong impression of reverence and submission, believed, in order to mollify and bend to reason and the laws, intractable tempers, they might, even with fraud and imposture, support themselves with the authority of the gods, and cloath themselves with their name; a powerful and efficacious expedient on the people. They never considered that all dissimulation, all lying
was

was contrary to the reverence due to the Deity, and that without reverence there can be neither holiness nor religion (a).

Before the order of the sacrifices could be prescribed, it was necessary to reform the calendar, and to that Numa applied his first care. Romulus, little skilled in astronomy, divided the year but into ten months, and called March the first from the name of his father. This way of computing the year, agreeable to the course neither of the sun nor of the moon bred great confusion. Numa corrected this gross error, and adding two months, January and February, to the beginning of the year, made it consist of 355 days only, or twelve lunar months, and used intercalations, which at the end of twenty annual revolutions, reduced the years to their just point (1). Julius Cæsar perceiving this calculation to be still wrong, added above ten days, making the year just 365 days and six hours, and reserved the six hours 'till the end of four years to make a whole day, which was inserted before the sixth of the Calends of March, the place always fixed for the intercalations; so that every fourth year the six of the Calends was reckoned twice, saying the second

(a) In specie fidei simulationis, sicut reliquæ virtutes, ita pietas inesse non potest, cum qua simul & sanctitatem & religionem tolli necesse est. 1. De Nat. n. 3.

(1) January from Janus: February from februo, to purify, the feast of purification being then celebrated: March from Mars: April from Aphrodite, the Greek name of Venus; or from aperio to open

as buds and flowers do in the spring: May from Maia, mother of Mercury, or (according to others) the same with Rhea, ops or the earth: June from juvenus, or Juno, July from Julius Cæsar: August from Augustus. These, like the residue, were first named from their order. Quintilis the fifth, Sextilis the sixth (reckoning March the first), September the seventh, &c.

time

time *bis sexto Calendas*, whence the word *Bis-sextus*, and the year had then 366 days, and was called *Bissextilis*. As this computation also was not exact, because the solar year wants about eleven minutes of 365 days six hours, it was reformed under Gregory XIII. in 1582, and brought to the greatest exactness possible.

Numa instituted also the days called by the Romans, *fasti* and *nefasti*. On the first the Judges sat in judgment, and the People held their assemblies: which was not allowed on the other days (1).

Numa made no alteration in the customs and ceremonies wisely instituted by Romulus: he only added what he thought his predecessor had omitted.

Numa
makes
Priests and
Pontifices.

Romulus had appointed a priest peculiar to Jupiter, *Flamen Dialis*. Numa appointed two more, one for Mars, and the other for Quirinus or Romulus. These priests are supposed to be called *Flamines*, from a flame-coloured veil which they wore called *Flameum* (2).

He

(1) Numa divided the days into, 1. Dies Festi, on which were celebrated *Sacrificia*, *Sacrifices*; *Epulæ*, *banquets to the honour of the gods*; *Ludi*, *public games*; *Feriæ*, *public festivals*. 2. Dies Profesti, particularly dies fasti, or court days, on which it was lawful for the *Prætor* to sit in judgment, and *fari tria verba*, say the three solemn words, *Do*, I give law; *Dico*, I declare right; *Addico*, I adjudge damages. Other days, except dies *intercisi* (which were divided between sacred and ordinary employments)

were called dies *nefasti*, or non-court-days on which the three words could not be said. Dies *nefastus* is also used by Horace for an unlucky day.

(2) Plutarch says the word *flamines* is a corruption of *Pilamines* from *Pileus*, a cap proper to the order. Others will have it a contraction of *Filamines* from *filum*, the thread they bound about their heads instead of a cap, as being lighter. The *Flamines* were chosen by the people, and inaugurated by the *Pontifex maximus* to whom they were subject. Their mi-
nistry

He created also four *Pontifices* (1), the first of whom was called *Pontifex Maximus* (2), and had authority over the rest: They were all of Patrician extraction. In the year of Rome 452 Liv. l. 10. four more were added out of the Plebeians: and c. 6. at last under Sylla they were increased to fifteen, Flor. Ep. l. 89. as were also the augurs at the same time. Romulus created at first but three augurs, taken out of the Patricians, but the additional number, like that of the Pontifices, were also chosen out of the People.

Numa gave the Pontifices the superintendency of the sacrifices, ceremonies, festivals, solemn processions, in a word, of every thing concerning divine service. They gave judgment in all religious differences between private persons, magistrates, and officers belonging to the public worship. They took care that the inferior ministers did nothing against the usual forms. It was their business to instruct people in the knowledge of the gods and way of worship, to inform them what days, in what temples,

nistry was confined to a particular god, as Flamen Dialis to Jupiter, Flamen Martialis to Mars, and Flamen Quirinalis to Romulus. Their wives were called Flaminicæ, and partook of the priesthood. A Flaminica could not be divorced upon any account, and upon her death the husband lost his sacerdotal dignity. The Flamen Dialis was a person of great authority in the state, and tied to several superstitious restraints, as well as honoured with several eminent privileges, which see at large in Gellius.

(1) The word *Pontifex* is

by some derived from pons and facere, because they built and had the care of the wooden bridge in Rome: by others from posse and facere for offerre and sacrificare. The first is the received opinion, tho' thought absurd by Plutarch.

(2) The *Pontifex Maximus* is defined by Festus, the judge and arbitrator of divine and human affairs. Upon which account this office, or at least the name, was assumed by all the Roman Emperors 'till the time of Gratian, who refused it. The Popes afterwards assumed it, and enjoy it to this day.

and

and what kind of sacrifices they were to offer, what ceremonies were to be used at funerals; how long the mourning was to last, (which could not at farthest exceed ten months) and how the manes were to be appeased. In the college of the Pontifices were also examined the prodigies, whether they deserved any regard, and how they were to be expiated. They punished offenders against their orders in proportion to the offence. When a pontifex died, his colleagues name another in his place. In process of time, this choice was left to the people.

Vestals.

Dionys.

l. 2 p. 125

—129.

Plut. in

Num p.

66, 67.

Liv. l. 1.

c. 20.

Numa is looked upon as author of the Vestal institution, because he more distinctly regulated the ministry and office of that order; for, as we have seen in the example of Rhea Sylvia, there were Vestals before him. He made but four. Two more were added by Tarquinius Priscus or Servius Tullius; and that number remained unaltered. Numa committed to them the keeping of the immortal fire (1) and Palladium (2), with the care of certain secret sacrifices

(1) *It is observable that a sacred fire was always a part of religion. Even amongst the Jews, The fire shall ever be burning on the altar, it shall never go out. See Levit. vi. 13 The same was kept in the temples of Ceres at Martina, of Apollo at Delphos and Athens, by the Magi among the Persians. This custom, says Diodorus Siculus, came from Ægypt to Greece, and from thence to Rome.*

(2) *It is uncertain whether this statue gave name to Pallas, or Pallas to it. Ovid says it fell down from heaven upon a hill near Troy, which*

city could not be taken as long as that image remained there. And therefore it was stolen away by Diomedes and Ulysses, after which Troy was quickly destroyed. It is pretended there were two statues, one true, the other counterfeit, and that the counterfeit was stolen, but the true one was brought by Æneas into Italy. Arnobius and Clemens Alexandrinus say it was made of Pelops's bones, King of Peloponnesus. Dionysius Halicarnassensis says, Pallas was King of Arcadia, father of Chryse, wife of Dardanus King of Troy, with whom he had this statue for her

fices and ceremonies in the worship of the goddesses Vesta. They vowed chastity for the thirty years that they attended on the service of the goddesses. The age of admission was above six and under ten. They were to be without any corporal blemish. The ten first years were a sort of noviciate or probation-time, wherein they learned the sacred mysteries: the next ten were spent in the practice of them, and the ten last in teaching the novices. This term being expired, they were free to quit the order, lay aside the distinctions of it, and marry. Very few, it is said, made use of this liberty, deterred by their fatal experience (as it is pretended) of the unhappy end commonly attending those who changed their condition.

For a balance to their vow of thirty-years chastity, very great privileges and marks of distinction were, at several times, granted to the Vestals. They had a right to make a will in their fathers life-time, and to dispose of their effects without a trustee; for the Roman women were always under guardianship. They were forbid to take an oath, and were believed in courts of justice on their bare word. When they appeared in public, a Lictor attended them with the fasces. If a Vestal in her walks happened to meet a malefactor leading to execution, he was pardoned, upon her assurance that the meeting was purely accidental, and not on purpose. They had a distinguished rank and place

her portion, and called it Pallas's present. In process of time, to render it venerable, it was said to be the statue of a goddess named the Arcadian Pallas. This is the more probable, as the Palladium re-

presented a young man in armour, which might easily be mistaken for a warlike goddess. Many secrets and mysteries are said to belong to the Palladium, which were not to be revealed to the vulgar.

of

of honour in the Circus and at other public fights. They were brought up and maintained at the expence of the public.

If on one hand great honours were paid to the dignity and virtue of the Vestals, on the other hand, their faults were punished with as great severity. Their faults were of two kinds: either negligence in suffering the sacred fire to go out: or lewdness in violating their vow of chastity.

In the first case (*a*), which was looked on as the sign of some great calamity to the state, the guilty Vestal was punished as a slave, that is, with scourging: covered only with a veil, for modesty-sake, she was whipped with rods by the Pontifex Maximus. One of the Vestals spent the whole night by the sacred fire to prevent its extinction, and they watched thus by turns. When the fire was out, it was to be rekindled by the rays of the sun, the manner of which is variously related.

The great crime of the Vestals was the breach of their vow of chastity: accordingly it was punished in a manner not to be described without horror. They were buried alive. There is, says Plutarch, near the Colline gate, a little vault with a hole to go down into it. In the vault is a small bed, a lighted lamp, and a little quantity of provisions, as a loaf, a pitcher of water, a phial of oil, and a pot of milk, only not to wound religion, by starving to death a person consecrated with the most august and sacred ceremonies. Strange scruple! they feared

(*a*) Plus omnibus, aut nunciatis peregre, aut visis domi prodigiis, terruit animos hominum ignis in æde Veste

extinctus, cæsaque flagro est Vestalis, cujus custodia noctis ejus fuerat, jussu P. Licinii Pontificis. *Liv. l. 28. c. 11.*

to starve her whom they buried alive. The offender is put into a close and covered litter, that her cries may not be heard, and carried in that manner a-cross the forum. At the sight of the litter, all retire to let it pass, and it is followed in profound silence with all the marks of the deepest sorrow. There is not a more horrible spectacle, nor a more frightful or more mournful day for Rome. When the litter is come to the place of punishment, the Lictors take off the covering, and open it; and the Pontifex Maximus, after some private prayers with hands lifted to heaven, takes out the criminal all over veiled, and sets her on the ladder to go down into the vault. After which he returns with the other priests, and the unhappy Vestal is no sooner down, but the ladder is removed, and the hole filled up with earth 'till the ground is even, and no sign of a grave remains, as if the criminal was deemed unworthy to appear as well among the dead as the living.

By this terrible execution is seen the notion of the Heathens themselves concerning a virgin's breach of her vow of chastity, and their fear of its drawing down the curse and vengeance of the gods upon the whole state, if it remained unpunished. To avoid so fatal a calamity, the Vestals were exhorted to use the strictest precautions, to keep as far as possible from the sin, and to fly with horror from every thing that could cast the least blemish on their reputation. Posthumia, a Vestal, having brought herself under suspicion by a dress and gaiety unbecoming a virgin, was called to her trial. She was indeed, after a long examination, found innocent: but the Pontifex Maximus ordered her to lay aside for the future those gay airs, and study to show, in her dress, more wisdom and modesty than

Liv. l. 4.
c. 44.

than elegance and taste; *abstinere joci, colique sanctè potius quàm scitè jussit.*

We see also, by the difficulty of compleating the fixed number of Vestals, the infinite difference between Christianity and Paganism. Though the Romans had but six virgins that vowed chastity a certain number of years, and though great honours and privileges were granted them, yet Augustus was forced to admit into the order the daughters of freedmen, because persons of quality were unwilling to dedicate theirs to this honourable office, which in it's primitive institution, was appointed only for Patrician families. Here Christianity triumphs. Shortly after it's establishment, thousands of virgins filled the cities and solitudes, voluntarily renouncing their estates, with all their worldly pomp and hopes; and even exposing themselves with incredible fortitude to the most cruel torments, to crown their virginity with martyrdom. It is doubtful whence sprung a change so wonderful, and a fortitude so far beyond the power of nature?

I have enlarged a little on the Vestals, that I might not be obliged to resume the subject hereafter.

The *Salii* are other priests instituted by Numa on the following occasion. In the eighth year of his reign, a contagious distemper raging in Italy, and severely infesting Rome, whilst all were in the utmost consternation, a brazen target, it is said, fell from heaven into the king's hands, and he instantly uttered strange things, taught him, as he affirmed, by Egeria and the Muses: that the target was sent for the cure and preservation of Rome, which should enjoy a constant and uninterrupted happiness as long as that precious pledge should be preserved: that it ought to be kept with great care, and

eleven

Dion.
Cass. l. 55.
F. 565.

Sueton. in
Aug. c. 31.

Salii
Dionys.
l. 2 p. 129,
130.
Plut. ibid.
p. 63, 69.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 20.

eleven other targets of the same size and shape be speedily made, and in case of an attempt to steal it away, the true might not be distinguished from the counterfeit. Marmurius Veturius, an excellent artist, made eleven targets so like the first, that Numa himself could not distinguish them. He desired no other reward for his labour, than that in the songs to be composed for the intended festival, his name might be inserted: a favour readily granted him (*a*). These targets were called *Ancilia* (*b*), because, according to Varro, they were sloped on both sides, like the Thracian bucklers. The keeping of these targets was committed to twelve Roman citizens of Patrician families and known probity. Cloathed in a purple tunic, girded with a broad belt clasped with brass buckles, helmets on their head, and short swords in their right hand, with which they struck the targets in their left, they walked pompously in solemn procession every *March*, singing verses composed on purpose for the occasion, and dancing in time to the sound of flutes; from whence they were called *Salii* (1).

Numa, mindful of all the parts of the government, where he intended religion should be predominant, established a college of *Heralds at Arms* called *Feciales* (2). Their principal office concerned the declarations of war and
Heralds at Arms called Feciales. Liv. l. 1. c. 32. Dionys. l. 2. p. 132.

(*a*) Inde sacerdotes operi promissa vetusto

Præmia persolvunt. Marmuriumque vocant. Ovid.

(*b*) Ah *ancisæ*, quod ea arma ab utraque parte; ut *pelte* Thracum, *incilia*. Varr. l. 6. de ling. Lat.

Horace for dainties. Od. 37. l. 1.

(1) The entertainments of the *Salii* upon their festival were very costly and magnificent: hence *cape saliales* in

(2) The word by Varro is derived from *fides*, as they had the care of the public faith in leagues. By others à *fœdere faciendo*, from making leagues.

peace, and the method used in the first demonstrates the equity and religion of the Romans in a matter which is commonly managed in a very different manner. When war is to be proclaimed (says Dionysius Halicarnassensis), the Heralds at arms commission one of their college for that purpose *. He, cloathed in a more magnificent and venerable habit than ordinary, proceeds to the city complained of, and entering the frontiers, stops, and calls Jupiter and all the gods to witness, that he is come to demand justice in the name of the Roman people. This is followed with many imprecations on himself and on Rome, if he says any thing contrary to truth. Then he advances, and to the first person he meets of town or country, he repeats the same protestations. When he comes to the gates, he renews, in presence of the guard, his oaths, and goes on to the public place of concourse. There, in a standing posture, he declares to the magistrates the cause of his coming, with fresh oaths and imprecations; and if he finds them inclined to do justice, and deliver up the wrong-doers, he takes them with him, and returns without acting, or denouncing any hostility. If they desire time to consider, he gives them ten days, at the end of which he comes again to them, and if it be necessary, consents to a farther delay. But after thirty days, if his remonstrances are not heard, he calls to witness all the cœlestial and infernal gods, and departs with saying only, the Roman people will consider at leisure the refusal of doing them justice. At his return to Rome he repairs to the Senate with all the rest of the He-

* *He that was employed in that office was called Pater patratus.*

ralds at arms: protests he has carefully discharged his duty as prescribed by the law, and declares the legality of the war. The Roman Senate and people did not think they could lawfully make war without observing these formalities (*a*). Numa's design in their institution was, to render the Romans extremely considerate, circumspect, and moderate, before the declaration of a war: and to check the first motions of revenge by those horrible imprecations denounced against the Roman people themselves, if the Deity saw them unjust. Accordingly Varro observes (*b*), the Romans took up arms slowly and without passion, persuaded that none but a just and necessary war should be undertaken; and to sentiments so reasonable, Dionysius ascribes the happy successes granted by the gods to their arms.

Plutarch mentions another kind of *Heralds* employed in religious ceremonies, and solemn *for the ceremonies of religion.* processions. They walked before the priests, proclaiming through the city silence and cessation from work. Numa (says the historian) *Plut. in Num. p. 69.* would have his citizens to assist at divine service and public prayers, not carelessly, and with negligence and distraction, but to cease from their occupations, and wholly attend to the solemnity, as to the most important action of life; and therefore the noises inseparable from most of the necessary trades were not to be heard, and the streets were to be kept clean and free during the procession. Plutarch observes, that in certain sacrifices the Herald cried out, *Hoc age,*

(*a*) Ex quo intelligi potest, nullum bellum esse justum, nisi quod aut rebus repetitis geratur, aut denuntiatur antè fit & indictum. *Offic. 1. n. 36.*

(*b*) Bella & tardè, nec magna licentia suscipiebant, quòd nullum bellum nisi pium putabant geri oportere. *Varr. l. 2. de vita P. R.*

that is, *Mind what you are about*, to admonish the people to behave reverently and attentively to what was doing. How many Christians improve by these examples given them by Heathens!

Liv. l. 1. c. 21. Numa, who, at his accession to the throne, found the Romans (as we observed) unpolished, fierce, and violent, and breathing only battles and war, believed the only possible way to draw them out of that state was by frequent exercises of religion.

Temple to Fides. Liv. l. 1. c. 21. Dionys. l. 2. p. 134. Plut. in Num. p. 70. Lib. 6. p. 498. He is said to be the first that erected a temple and appointed a public worship to *Fides*, and taught the Romans that the most sacred oath they could take, was to swear *ex fide*, by their *faith* or *veracity*. His intention was to render their promises, without writings or witnesses, as firm and certain as contracts made and sworn with all formalities; and in this he succeeded to his wish. Polybius gives this glorious testimony of the Romans, that they inviolably kept their *faith*, that is, their word, without any occasion for witnesses or securities; whereas nothing could bind the Greeks to their promises.

The god Terminus Ibid. Feb. 22. That every man might be content with his own lands, and not covet or invade his neighbour's, he established laws concerning boundaries, and appointed a most solemn festival in honour of the god that presided at it. He was call *Terminus*, and his festival *Terminalia* (1). Dionysius observes, that in his time the external rites of this festival were still very religiously observed, but the spirit and substance openly

(1) Stones dedicated to Jupiter Terminalis were placed on the borders of the Roman territory, and also as land-

marks to private possessions, which became a sort of deities, or Dii Termini,

contemned. And indeed we shall find that the avarice of the rich will lead them to seize most of the lands of private persons as well as of the public, which occasioned continual divisions in the commonwealth; and that the Roman people themselves in general ever thirsting after new conquests, will set no bounds to their ambition. Thus the God Terminus will be always outwardly honoured at Rome, and always really contemned and insulted.

Numa implanted so profound a reverence for religion in the Romans of his time, that he caused that warlike people to lay down their arms, and employ themselves throughout his whole reign in rendering the gods propitious. The remembrance of the Deity, ever present in their thoughts, had inspired them with such a piety, that the citizens did their duty, not so much out of fear of the penal laws, as a religious regard to their word and oath. All (says Livy) formed their manners by the King's, whom they took for their sole pattern. And how deep in them was the impression of a religion, though false, appears from the respect it drew from their neighbours: insomuch that the nations about them, who had before considered Rome, not as a city, but as a camp, placed among them to disturb the public tranquillity, conceived for them such a reverence, that they would have thought it a sort of impiety to attack a people wholly intent upon the service of the gods (a).

*Reverence
for reli-
gion estab-
lished at
Rome.*

Happy

(a) Ad hæc consultanda, procurandaque, multitudine omni à vi & armis coarctata, & animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, & deorum assidua insidens cura, cum interesse rebus humanis cœleste

numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac jusjurandum pro summo legum ac pœnarum metu, civitatem regerent. Et cum ipsi se homines in regis, velut unici exempli, mores for-

Happy the people, whose prince abounds with solid and real piety, since the shadow alone of it produces such effects !

Religion, I said, though false, had a great influence over the Romans, and no wonder. There is in mankind a natural religion that comes from God ; and the impresson of it is very useful, when it leads to sincerity and an inviolable observance of oaths ; which was the sum and substance of Numa's religion. So far was good, true, just, agreeable to nature, and to the institution of the author of nature. What was wrong, was their paying these duties to false gods. They made an ill use of a good thing, and spoiled it by the end to which they referred it. And in this light it is that the brightest actions of the Heathens are to be viewed.

S E C T. II.

Numa applies himself to establish good order in the city and country. Inspires his subjects with the love of labour, frugality, and poverty. Dies lamented by all the people. Erroneous opinion of his having been Pythagoras's scholar. Sacred books laid upon his tomb.

BY what has hitherto been said, it plainly appears that Numa's first and chief care was religion. But his noble views in that respect hindered not his attention to whatever concerned the civil government and good order, whether in the city or the country ; and nothing was

marent ; tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antè castra non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecun-

diam adducti sunt, ut civitatem totam in cultum versam deorum violari ducerent nefas. *Liv.*

omitted

omitted by him that could conduce to cherish among the citizens a spirit of peace, unity, and justice.

Among all Numa's appointments, one of the *Distribu-* best (says Plutarch) was the distribution of the *tion of the* people by their several professions and trades. *people ac-* Rome was originally composed of two nations, *cording to* Romans and Sabines: or, rather, was divided *their* into two opposite factions, by that difference of *trades.* origin which rendered them as foreigners to one *Plut. in* another, and created continual quarrels and con- *Num.* tests. Numa found it of great importance to *P 71.* banish from the city that party-spirit which made one say and think, *I am a Sabine, or I am a subject of Tatius*; and another, *I am a Roman, or I am a subject of Romulus*. He thought therefore, that, as solid bodies, which cannot be mixed together whilst they are whole, were readily incorporated when beat to powder, the minuteness of the parts helping the mixture; in like manner the two great bodies of Romans and Sabines were to be divided into many small parts, which would annihilate the difference and diversity of nation and origin, which prevented a perfect union. To this end, he divided the people by their occupations, as musicians*, goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, and the like: ranking them, according to their professions, in several companies; appointing fraternities, festivals, assemblies; granting each company particular privileges, and by that means establishing among them an union which made them forget they were Romans or Sabines.

Attention to the ease of the citizens in a pre- *Numa, to* vention of poverty, or deliverance from it, *banish po-* verty, re- *commends* the culti- *vation of*

* They were employed in the sacrifices and other religious *lands.* ceremonies. *Plut. in* *Num.*

is a great article of sound policy. Of this Numa from the beginning of his reign took particular care. He knew the indigent are more inclined than all the rest to seditions, because, dissatisfied with their present condition, they cannot lose, but may gain, by a change. They are not so good fathers of families. They neglect the nurture, education, and discipline of their children, and think less of settling them, and perpetuating their posterity, in which consists the strength and riches of a state. Numa, to obviate this inconvenience, divided among the poor citizens the conquered lands, to keep them from idleness, and its attendant, injustice, by the enjoyment of the lawful fruits of their labour, and to incline them to a love of peace, so necessary to the husbandman. No expedient for that purpose could be more just, more humane, less chargeable to the rich, and more proper for increasing from age to age the strength of the commonwealth by a constant supply of new citizens.

To attach his subjects to the improvement of the lands in a more affecting and steady manner, he distributed them into *Pagi* or villages, set over them inspectors and superintendants, frequently viewed himself the labours of the field, judged of the owners by the work, advanced to praise the laborious, diligent, and industrious; reprimanded the negligent and slothful. By these various means, supported by his example, he rendered agriculture so honorable, that in the following ages, the generals and chief magistrates, far from regarding as beneath them the rural occupations, gloried in cultivating their fields with the same victorious triumphant hands that had conquered the enemies of the state, and put their armies to flight.

It

It was this love of labour and a country-life, infused at first by Numa into his subjects, that preserved for so many ages the noble sentiments, generosity, disinterestedness, which have rendered the Roman name much more illustrious than all the most renowned victories. For, it must be owned, an innocent country-life is very nearly related to wisdom, being as it were her sister (*a*); and it may justly be considered as an excellent school of simplicity, frugality, justice, and all the moral virtues (*b*).

Numa, educated in this school, inspired with the same taste and sentiments not only his own subjects, but most of the neighbouring cities; wherein, as if a happy influence of gentleness and tranquillity flowing from Rome had been shed all around, was seen a wonderful change of manners, and instead of martial ardor, an eager desire to live in peace, to cultivate the lands, to bring up their children, and serve the gods in quiet. Throughout the whole country, there was nothing but festivals, sports, sacrifices, feasts, and rejoicings of people, who visited one another without fear, as if Numa's wisdom had been a plentiful fountain, from whence the streams of virtue and justice had flowed into the minds of the people, and infused into their hearts the same tranquillity that reigned in his own.

And indeed, during Numa's reign of forty-three years, neither war nor rebellion appeared, nor did ambition conspire against him. But whether reverence for his eminent virtue, or fear of the Deity (says Plutarch) who so visibly pro-

(*a*) Res rustica, sine dubitatione, proxima & quasi consanguinea sapientiæ est. *Column. de re rust. l. 1.*

(*b*) Vita rustica parsimonia, diligentia, justitiæ magistra est. *Cic. orat. pro Rosc. Amor. n. 75.*

tested him, disarmed vice; whether Heaven, by a particular providence, was pleased to preserve this happy reign from whatever might fully its glory or disturb its peace, it has served for proof and instance of that great maxim long since advanced by Plato, when speaking of government he says, *Cities and people shall not be freed from their evils, 'till, by a particular providence of the gods, the sovereign and philosopher (that is, the man enlightened with wisdom and knowledge) being united in one person, shall render virtue triumphant over vice.*

During the long tranquillity Rome enjoyed under Numa, the neighbouring nations were so far from taking advantage of his pacific temper to make war upon him, that in all their differences with one another, they chose the Romans for umpires, and referred them entirely to Numa's decisions: a glory infinitely preferable to that of conquests founded usually on injustice; whereas the other is the effect of the esteem and gratitude of the nations, who cannot but pay a publick homage to the wisdom, justice, and sincerity, of a prince perfectly void of self-interest, and solely intent on the happiness of others. He attained to an extreme old age, having lived above eighty-three years without misfortune or sickness. He ended his life in the gentlest manner, that is, by nature being quite exhausted. His reign had lasted forty-three years.

Numa's particular taste for the study of philosophy, the wisdom of his regulations and laws, his profound reverence for the Deity, the conformity of sentiments in several points with those of Pythagoras, have made some authors believe him to be scholar of that famous philosopher, and formed by his instructions. But Pythagoras's first appearance in Italy was above an

Lib. 5. de
Rep.
P. 473.

Dionys.
P. 135.

Death of
Numa.

Numa
was not
Pythago-
ras's scho-
lar.

Liv. 1. 1.
c. 18.

Dionys.
p. 120.

Plut. p. 60,

an hundred and fifty years after Numa, in the reign of Tarquin the Proud, or of Servius Tullius. Hence, according to Cicero's judicious remark (a), Numa ought to be the more admired for having known and practised the soundest maxims of policy and the art of government, so many years before Greece had any notion of the thing.

The publick veneration shown at his funeral crowned the happiness of his life. All the neighbouring nations, friends and allies of Rome, thought themselves bound to be present. The Patricians themselves carried on their shoulders the coffin in which his body was laid. They were followed by the priests of all the temples, and an infinite number of people. The tears, the sighs, the groans of the whole company, made his elogy. He was lamented, not as a prince dead of old age, but as if they had buried the dearest friend in the flower of his youth.

His body was not burnt, because he had forbidden it; but two stone-coffins were made, which were interred at the foot of the Janiculum (1): his body was laid in one, and in the other were put the sacred books of his own writing, doubtless because it was his command. Authors differ about the number and other circumstances. Livy says there were fourteen: seven in Latin concerning the pontifical right, and seven in Greek upon Philosophy, such as it was in those

Tusc.
Quæst. l. 1.
n. 38.

Numa's
funeral
Plut. p. 74.

Numa's
books buried with
him.
Ibid.

Liv. l. 40.
c. 29.

(a) Quo etiam major vir habendus est Numa, cum illam sapientiam constituendæ civitatis duobus propè seculis antè cognovit, quàm eam Græci natam esse senserunt. *De orat. l. 2. n. 154.*

(1) A hill so called from Janus or Janua. The spark-

ling sands it abounds with procured it the name of Mons aureus, at present by corruption called Montorio. From hence, says Martial in one of his epigrams, is the best prospect of Rome. Lib. 4. Ep. 64.

remote

remote times. Above five hundred and thirty years after, in the year of Rome 573, these two stone-coffins were found in digging the ground. One was entirely empty, without any remains or sign of a human body, length of time having consumed the whole: in the other were two parcels of books not only entire, but appearing newly written*. Petilius, prætor of the city, who perused them, reporting to the senate, that he did not think them proper to be made public or preserved, as containing many things prejudicial to religion (a), they were burnt by order of the senate before the people in the Forum.

It does not appear why Numa would have these books put into a coffin; and much less how books composed by a king so pious and religious, could contain many things repugnant to religion. Perhaps the superstitions which then prevailed in Rome were condemned in them; and that this was what the prætor meant.

Univ. Hist
P 429.

M. Bossuet, the glory of the French clergy, makes one observation upon the religious books of all the antient nations, which I cannot forbear to insert. The works, says he, that the Egyptians and other nations called *divine*, have long been lost, and there remain but very dark traces of them in the antient histories. The sacred books of the Romans, wherein Numa, author of their religion, had described the mysteries of

* This seems very hard to be believed. It is pretended, a certain juice, drawn from cedar or the citron tree, preserves from corruption the things on which it is sprinkled. Hence the expression of Horace. *carmina linerenda cedro*, (Art. Poët.) for verses that should

last for ever. Pliny indeed gives this reason why Numa's works did not rot. *Libros citratos (or cidratos) fuisse: propterea arbitrari tineas non tetigisse. Lib 13. c. 13.*

(a) *Cum animadvertisset pleraque dissolvendarum religionum esse. Liv.*

it,

it, perished by the hands of the Romans themselves, being burnt by the Senate; as tending to the subversion of religion. These same Romans in the end suffered the Sibylline writings to perish, so long revered among them as prophetic, and where they would have it believed that they found the decrees of the immortal gods concerning their empire, without however exhibiting to the public, I will not say one single volume, but one single prediction. The Jews are the only people whose sacred writings have been the more revered as they have been the more known. Of all the antient nations, they alone have preserved the primitive monuments of their religion, though they abound with testimonies of their own, as well as of the unfaithfulness of their forefathers. And still at this day the same people remain upon earth to carry to all nations where they are dispersed, along with their religion, the miracles and predictions which render it unshaken.

In the (a) two reigns of Romulus and Numa, who established and strengthened Rome, one by war, the other by peace, may be observed almost all the principles afterwards practised by the Romans, whether for the public administration, or for private conduct: a great respect for the sacredness of an oath, for the worship of the gods, for religious ceremonies; a particular care not to undertake any but just wars, to make victory subservient to the incorporating the vanquished by the right of free-

*Principles
of the Ro-
man go-
vernment.*

(a) Duo deinceps reges, Tum valida, tum temperata
alius alia vir, ille bello, hic & belli & pacis artibus erat
pace, civitatem auxerunt.— civitas. *Liv. l. 1. c. 21.*

dom,

dom, and to settle in the conquered countries numerous colonies : a professed relish and happy habit for a plain, poor, frugal, laborious life, equally fit for the painful toils of agriculture, and the hard exercises of war, in which their whole occupation consisted : so that it might be said of the Romans, in some sense, that they were a nation of husbandmen and soldiers.

C H A P. III.

The REIGN of TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

Tullus divides the lands among the poor citizens. Incloses mount Cælius within the city. War with the Albans; ended by a single combat of the Horatii and Curiatii. Horatius kills his sister. Treachery and punishment of Suffetius. Alba demolished, and the inhabitants removed to Rome. War with the Sabines: then with the Latines. Plague at Rome. Death of Tullus Hostilius.

AFTER Numa's death and a short inter-
regnum, the people elected for King
Tullus Hostilius. The choice was confirmed
by the Senate, and received with universal ap-
probation. He was originally of Medullia, a
city built by the Albans, and made a Roman
colony by Romulus, after he had reduced it to
his obedience. His grandfather Hostus Hosti-
lius, who, as we have seen, signalized himself
in the battle against Tatius, wherein he was
slain, was noted for his riches and birth, and
after his settlement, married a Sabine, daughter
of Hersilia, the same that advised her country-
women to throw themselves between the two
armies, to reconcile the Romans with the Sa-
bines.

As soon as Tullus was seated in the throne,
he begins his reign with a memorable act that
gained him the heart of the tradesmen and poor.
The two Kings his predecessors enjoyed a large
and fertile field, as part of the royal demesnes;
the

*Tullus
elected
King.
A. R. 82.
Ant. C.
670.
Dionys. l.
3. p. 236.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 22.*

*He divides
lands a-
mong the
citizens.*

the income of which was applied to the charges of their sacrifices and of their table. Tullus suffered it to be divided among those that had no lands, saying his own patrimony was more than sufficient for all his expences.

He incloses mount Cælius within the circuit of the city. At the same time, for the sake of those who had no dwelling-place, he inclosed mount Cælius within the circuit of the city of Rome. There all the Romans that had no houses, built themselves a habitation. He himself fixed his palace there, and some of the principal citizens settled there also. Nothing else remarkable was done by Tullus in civil affairs during the peace.

War with the Albans. Peace was not, during his reign, the object of his wishes. Far from being in that respect like his predecessor Numa, he showed a greater ardor for war than Romulus himself. His age, his strong constitution, his grandfather's fame, all inspired him with a martial courage. Persuaded that a long and ignoble ease would infallibly weaken and enervate the Romans; he impatiently waited an opportunity to rouse them to arms. An opportunity quickly offered. Cluilius, dictator of Alba, jealous of the prosperous condition of Rome, secretly commissioned some persons of no note to pillage in the Roman territory, in hopes it might produce a breach between the two nations. What he wished for came to pass. The injured parties instantly flew to revenge; and Cluilius, attentive to the success of his stratagem, persuaded his countrymen, that what was really but a reprisal, was an insult, and deserved a chastisement by arms. And to give this rupture a face of justice, before a declaration of war, he induced the Albans to send ambassadors and demand satisfaction for the injury. Hostilius, at least as subtle as his enemy, whose
artifice

artifice he discovered, received the ambassadors with a civility that beguiled them; and detaining them on various pretences, gained sufficient time to send, without their knowledge, his ambassadors to Alba, to complain of the breach of the peace, and demand a reparation proportionable to the damage. Cluilius answered with all the haughtiness of a man resolutely bent upon war. After the return of the Roman ambassadors, Hostilius gave audience to the Alban, complained of their master's proud answer, and declared, since they desired war, he first proclaimed it, and bid them expect to see it forthwith begun.

Both sides immediately took the field. The A. R. 851
 Albans encamped within five miles of Rome, Ant. C.
 in a place called afterwards *Fossa Cluilia*, or *Cluilius's Ditch*. Shortly after, Cluilius was found 667.

dead in his tent, without any appearance of the cause. He was succeeded in the command by *Interview*
 Metius Suffetius, who, before an engagement, *for an ac-*
 was willing to try some way of accommodation. *commoda-*
 Advice that some neighbouring cities intended *tion.*

to attack them whilst engaged, and to fall alike upon the conquerors and conquered, inclined him to that expedient. Tullus refused not a conference, though he expected it to be fruitless.

An interview was agreed on at an equal distance from the two camps. The two generals were present, attended by the principal officers of their respective armies. The Alban spoke first

in this manner: " I know Cluilius alledged for Liv. 1. 1.
 " ground of this war the damages received from c. 22.

" Rome, and the refusal of the satisfaction re-

" quired: and I question not, O Tullus, but

" the same things will be urged on your side:

" but if, instead of deceiving ourselves with

" specious pretences, we speak the truth, it will

“ be owned that ambition and a thirst of empire
 “ excite to arms two nations united both by
 “ neighbourhood and blood. Whether justly or
 “ not I shall not determine: that consideration
 “ belongs to the author of the war: for the ma-
 “ nagement of which the Albans have since pla-
 “ ced me at the head of their troops. But of
 “ one thing, O Tullus, I cannot help putting
 “ you in mind. You know how formidable
 “ are the Hetrurians, by whom we are sur-
 “ rounded: and this you know, as being nearer
 “ to them, better than we do. They are
 “ powerful at land, and more so at sea. Re-
 “ member, the moment the signal of battle
 “ shall be given, they will become spectators,
 “ and not fail to attack with advantage the con-
 “ querors and conquered, equally weakened and
 “ exhausted by the length of the fight. Where-
 “ fore, in the name of the gods, since, not con-
 “ tent with the liberty we enjoy, we desire to run
 “ the hazard of empire or servitude, let us devise
 “ a way, by which, without much loss of blood,
 “ the lot of both nations may be decided.” The
 proposal was not disliked by Tullus, though his
 natural temper and hopes of victory inclined him
 more to a battle. Whilst they were uncertain of
 the method to be taken, chance pointed out a
 way which fixed their doubt.

There were, in each army, three brothers *,

* *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* says plainly, the three brothers on each side were born at one birth. *Livy's* expression, *trigemini fratres*, is not repugnant to that sense: but I believe it may also be understood simply of three brothers. The two words *trigeminus* and *tergeminus*, used indiffe-

rently by authors, signify sometimes three twins, sometimes simply three. *Dionysius* also says, the *Horatii* and *Curatii* were sisters children, daughters of *Sequinius* an Alban, of whom one was married to *Curatius* of Alba, and the other to *Horatius* of Rome.

of equal age and strength, called the Horatii and Curiatii. The general opinion (for authors vary) is that the Horatii were on the side of the Romans. Both accepted with joy a choice so honorable to them, and so envied by many others. Time and place were agreed on, and by a solemn treaty between the Romans and Albans, the nation to whom the victors belonged, should command and govern the other by equitable laws (1).

The treaty being concluded (a), the three brothers of each side take arms according to the agreement. Whilst each nation exhort their champions manfully to perform their duty, by representing to them, that the tutelär gods of Rome or Alba, their country, their parents, their friends and fellow-citizens, have their eyes fixed upon their arms and hands; these generous combatants, of themselves full of courage, and besides animated by such strong exhortations, advance between the two armies. They were both drawn up round the field of battle, free indeed from the present danger, but not from anxiety, because empire was at stake, the fate of which was committed to so small a number of combatants. Possessed with these thoughts, and solicitous about the event, they applied their

Single combat between the Horatii and Curiatii.

(1) *This treaty, which served for pattern to almost all the Roman treaties, is described by Livy, Lib. 1. c. 26.*

(a) *Fœdere iſto, trigemini, ſicut convenerat, arma capiunt. Cùm ſui utroſque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quicquid civium domi, quicquid in exercitu ſit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus: feroces & ſuoſte ingenio, &*

pleni adhortantium vocibus, in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Conſederant utrinque pro caſtris duó exercitus, periculi magis præſentis quàm curæ expertes: quippe imperium agebatur, in tam paucorum virtutè atque fortuna poſitum. Itaque ergo erecti ſuſpenſque in minime gratum ſpectaculum animo intenduntur.

whole attention to a sight which was by no means agreeable to them.

The signal is given (*a*), and the brave heroes, showing in them fix the courage of two armies, fiercely advance against one another. Insensible of their own danger, they consider only that of their country, which they are going by their victory to crown with dominion, or by their defeat to reduce to servitude. As soon as the clashing of their arms was heard, and their burnished swords seen, the spectators, seized with fear and alarm, and suspending even their hopes for one side or the other, stood so motionless, that they seemed to have lost the very power of speaking or breathing.

After this combat was begun (*b*), not only the motion of the bodies and the brandishings of the weapons, but the blood and wounds also, became a spectacle. Two Romans fell dead at the feet of the Albans, who were wounded all three. The fall of the two Horatii was instantly

(*a*) Datur signum, infestisque armis, velut acies, terni juvenes, magnorum exercituum animos gerentes, concurrunt. Nec his, nec illi, periculum suum; publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo. futuraque ea deinde patriæ fortuna quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo statim concursu increpuere arma, micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit: & neutro inclinata spe, torpebat vox spiritusque.

(*b*) Consertis deinde manibus, cum jam non motus tantum corporum, agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque,

sed vulnera quoque & sanguis spectaculo essent; duo Romani, super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis, expirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones jam spes tota, nondum tamen cura, deseruerat, exanimis vice unius, quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Fortè is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferrox. Ergo, ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capeffit fugam, ita ratus secuturos, ut quemque vulnere affectum corpus fineret.

followed.

followed by the loud and joyful shouts of the Alban army, whilst the Roman legions remained without hope, but not without anxiety, being in the utmost pain for the single Roman surrounded by the three Curiatii. By good fortune he was unhurt; and therefore, though too weak to encounter all together, he was more than able to stand against any one singly. To separate his enemies, he artfully takes to flight, persuaded they would follow him more or less swiftly, according as their wounds would permit.

He was now (*a*) at some distance from the place of combat, when looking back he sees the Curiatii a good way from each other, and one very near him. He turns upon him with all his force, and whilst the Alban army cry to his brothers to assist him, Horatius, now conqueror of his first enemy, flies to a second victory. Then the Romans animate their champion with shouts, such as flow from a sudden and unexpected joy; whilst he himself earnestly strives to put an end to the second combat. So before the other, who was not far off, could come up, he lays his enemy dead on the ground.

There remained (*b*) but one on each side: but if the number was equal, the strength and hope

(*a*) Jam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum est, aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes; unum haud procul ab sese abesse in eum magno impetu redit. Et dum Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatiis, ut opem ferant fratri, jam Horatius cæso hoste victor secundam pugnam pe-

tebat. Tum clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet, Romani adjuvant militem suum: & ille defungi prælio festinat. Prius itaque quàm alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi posset, & alterum Curiatium conficit.

(*b*) Jamque æquato Marte singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares. Alte-

hope were not so. The Roman without wound, and flushed with a double victory, boldly advanced to the third combat. The other, on the contrary, weakened with loss of blood, and spent with running, hardly crawls along; and already vanquished by the death of his brothers just slain before his face, like a defenceless victim offers his throat to the conqueror's sword. Accordingly this was no combat. Horatius, triumphing beforehand, *I have sacrificed*, says he, *the two first to the manes of my brothers: by the sacrifice of the third to my country, I will put an end to the quarrel of two nations, and acquire for Rome dominion over the Albans.* Curiatius could scarce lift up his arms: the conqueror buries his sword in his bosom, and then seizes his spoils.

The Romans (a) receive Horatius in their camp with a joy and gratitude proportionable to the danger they had run. Then both sides prepare to bury their dead, but with very different thoughts: the Romans being become lords of their adversaries, and the Albans subject to a foreign dominion. The tombs of the Horatii and Curiatii were to be seen in Livy's time, in the field where each fell: two of the Romans in one place near Alba; three of the Albans towards Rome, but at some distance

rum intactum ferro corpus,
& geminata victoria ferocem
in certamen tertium dabant:
alter fessum vulnere, fessum
cursu trahens corpus, victus-
que fratrum ante se strage,
victori objicitur hosti. Nec
illud prælium fuit. Romanus
exultans: *Duos, inquit, fra-*
trum Manibus dedi: tertium
causæ belli hujusce, ut Roma-
nus Albano imperet, dabo ma-

lè sustinenti arma gladium su-
perne jugulo defigit: jacen-
tem spoliat.

(a) Romani ovantes ac
gratulantes Horatium accipi-
unt: eo majore cum gaudio,
quo prope metum res fuerat.
Ad sepulturam inde suorum
nequaquam paribus animis
vertuntur: quippe imperio
alteri aucti, alteri ditionis
alienæ facti.

from

from one another, according to the place where they fought.

Before the separation of the armies, Metius, pursuant to the treaty, asked the Roman king what commands he had for him. Tullus ordered him to keep his troops ready to serve against the Veientes if occasion: after which the two armies parted.

Alba submits to Rome.

Horatius marched at the head of the Romans, loaded with the triple spoils he had so gloriously obtained. His sister, promised in marriage to one of the Curiatii, came out to meet him at *Porta Capena* (1). Perceiving on her brother's shoulders a military robe wrought with her own hands, and presented by her to her future spouse, she rent her cloaths, beats her breast, sheds a torrent of tears, calls with mournful accents upon her lover's name, and looking upon her brother with eyes sparkling with rage, says to him, *Thou triumphest, O monster of men, thou applaudest thyself for having deprived me of a spouse, the sole object of my affection. Wretch that thou art! thou gloriest in thy crime, and covered with the blood of my Curiatius, thou mockest my grief!* The young conqueror, equally offended with his sister's lamentations and reproaches in the midst of the public joy and his triumph, stabs her in the transport of his passion with these words: *Go, unnatural sister, forgetful of thy brothers and country, go with thy untimely love to thy spouse. Thus let every Roman perish that laments an enemy of Rome!*

Horatius kills his sister.

Paludamentum.

This deed seemed enormous to the senate and people, but the lustre of the recent victory pleaded for the offender. The king, unwilling

Horatius is tried.

(1) One of the gates of Rome, so called because the way to Capua lay through it.

to meddle with so hateful an affair, left it to the *Duumviri* (2), appointed for that purpose. The case being plain, they could not but condemn him to die. The Lictor was going to execute the sentence, and the punishment would have immediately followed his triumph, if [by the king's advice Horatius had not appealed to the people, and] his father had not come into the assembly to plead his cause. He maintained that the deed was not to be deemed murder, but a just vengeance: that he was father to the brother and sister, and consequently the proper judge of his domestic affairs: that if he had thought his son criminal, he would have used his paternal power to punish him. Then having recourse to intreaties, " he conjured the people
 " to pity an unfortunate father, and not render
 " him childless, whom they had a little before
 " seen bless'd with so excellent a progeny.
 " What! O Romans (continues he) can you
 " see this brave warrior, who a few hours since
 " walked in your sight glorious and triumphant,
 " after so important a victory; can
 " you see him bound to an infamous stake, expiring
 " amidst scourgings and torments? A
 " sight which the Albans themselves would
 " hardly be able to bear! Go, Lictor, bind
 " those victorious hands which have so lately
 " acquired empire for the Roman people. Veil
 " the head of the deliverer of this city (3).
 " Scourge

(2) That is, two commissioners named by the king. The first *Duumviri* properly so called were appointed to keep the Sibylline Oracles under Tarquinius Superbus.

(3) In cases of treason the law was: " Let two commissioners be appointed for state-crimes. If the criminal appeal from the sentence, let his appeal be received."

“ Scourge him either within the Pomœrium,
 “ so it be done amidst the spoils obtained by
 “ his valour; or without the Pomœrium, so
 “ it be done among the tombs of the Curiatii.
 “ For (added he speaking to the people) which
 “ way can you lead this young hero, that he
 “ find not in the monuments of his glory a
 “ protection against the ignominy of punish-
 “ ment.”

The people could not hold out either against *The people*
 the tears of the father, or the steadiness of the *same Ho-*
 son, proof against all manner of danger. Ho- *ratius.*
 ratius appeared at his trial with the same firm-
 ness of mind that he had shown in his combat
 with the Curiatii. The people thought that on
 account of so great service, the rigor of the
 law might be a little forgot. He was therefore
 acquitted rather out of admiration of his bra-
 very, than conviction of the justice of his cause.
 But not to leave the son's crime wholly unpunish-
 ed, the father was fined for him, and the son made
 to pass under *the yoke*; which consisted of two
 posts with a third laid a-cross on the top [like a
 door-case]. The yoke was called *Sororium ti-*
gillum, or *the Sister's rafter*. It was annually
 repaired, and still subsisted in Livy's time. A
 tomb was raised for Horatius's sister in the place
 she was killed.

The peace with the Albans did not hold long. *Metius's*
 Metius, (who was accused by the Albans of *treachery*
 misdemeanors during the war, in committing *and pu-*
 the fate of the whole nation to the arms of the *nishment.*
 three Curiatii, and whom they began to suspect *A. R. 87.*
 of treachery, because he had enjoyed the Dicta- *Ant. C.*
 665.
Dionys.
 l. 3 p. 160
 —172.
 Liv. l. 1.
 c. 27—30.

torship

torship three years by Tullus's interest) to recover the esteem and confidence of his citizens, conceived the blackest and most perfidious design imaginable. He privately sent to the enemies of Rome, who were still considering of an open revolt, to persuade them to throw off the yoke and declare themselves instantly, and promised them, in the heat of the battle to turn his arms against the Romans. Upon this assurance, the Fidenates, seconded by their allies the Veientes, take the field. Tullus, having long foreseen this storm, advances against the enemy with his own and the forces of Alba, passes the Teverone, and encamps near Fidenæ, where he finds the army of the Fidenates joined by their allies. Nothing more was done that day.

On the morrow, the Fidenates and their allies came out of their camp at sun-rising, and drew up in battle-array. The Romans did the same. Tullus took his post in the left wing of the Romans, opposite to the right wing of the enemies, where stood the Veientes. Metius commanded the right wing composed of the Albans, drawn up along the river, facing the Fidenates, who formed the left wing. When the two armies were within reach of the darts, the Albans retired from the rest of the army to the top of the hill, where they stood in order of battle, as if they had been a body of reserve. Metius's design, who was no braver than honest, was to stand neuter during the fight, and to side with the conquerors. This motion surprized the Romans that were nearest, and that saw their flank naked by the unexpected retreat of the Albans. The same instant a horseman brings Tullus the news, who with the choicest of his cavalry was beginning to

to put the enemy in disorder. At this report the Romans were frightened, and seeing the Albans on the hill, imagined they were going to be surrounded on all sides. Tullus, without shewing any concern at this cross accident, secretly vows to establish twelve *Salii*, and build temples to *Paleness* and *Fear*; and then cries out Pallor & Pavor. loud enough to be heard by the enemies, there is no reason to be frightened, for that the Albans are retiring to the hill by his command, to attack the Fidenates in the rear. At the same time he gives order for the horse to hold up all their lances, which hindered great part of the foot from seeing the retreat of the Albans. This stratagem saved Tullus's army. The Romans, at their king's voice, resumed their courage, and with a loud shout, vigorously charged the enemies. The Fidenates, believing themselves betrayed by Metius, quickly gave way, and fled in disorder to Fidenæ. Tullus detached after them his cavalry, who completed their dispersion, and returned immediately against the Veientes, who were defending themselves with great bravery and success. But when they heard of the defeat of their left wing, and flight of the Fidenates, fearing to be surrounded they dispersed, and turned to the Tyber for a passage. Many, quitting their arms, threw themselves into the water, where great numbers were drowned. Others, whilst they were considering on the banks whether they should fight or fly, were attacked by the Romans and entirely routed. The victory was complete, and the battle had been the most obstinate and bloody yet fought. Metius, at the end of the action, had joined the Romans and pursued the enemies. At his return he congratulates Tullus upon his happy success. Tullus dissembles;
and

and shows no resentment. The two armies, by his order, join to offer the next day a common sacrifice as a thanksgiving, and in the mean time give themselves up to rejoicing.

*Forty fa-
sia.*

Tullus, fully informed of all the circumstances of the treachery, goes in the night with his most trusty friends to Rome, where he arrives before midnight. Immediately he sends for all the senators, tells them what had happened, lays before them the measures he thinks proper to be taken for punishing Metius, and disabling the Albans to make the like attempts for the future. His advice is generally approved. At going out of the Council he remounts his horse, and as Rome was but five miles from Fidenæ, comes back to the camp before day-light. He sends for Horatius, the same by whose victory over the Curiatii the Albans had been brought under subjection; and orders him to march directly to Alba with the choicest of the horse and foot, and instructs him what to do.

Mean time, after he had privately taken all the necessary measures for executing his design, he assembles the armies. The Albans came first, and stood as near the king as they could to hear his speech. They were without arms: for among these antient nations, the soldiers, even in the camp, wore not their arms except when they were going to use them, which is one reason why duelling was not practised among them. The Roman legion stood round the Albans, and inclosed the assembly. The soldiers were ordered to come with their swords under their cloaths. When silence was made, Tullus began in this manner: “ Romans, (says he) if
“ ever in any war you had reason first to thank
“ the gods for their protection, and then your-
“ selves

“ selves for your own bravery, it was certain-
“ ly in yesterday’s action. For you had to
“ contend not only with the forces of your
“ enemies, but what is much more dangerous
“ and formidable, with the treachery and per-
“ fidiousness of your allies. For to undeceive
“ you, it was not by my orders that the Al-
“ bans retired to the hills. I suffered you to
“ believe, and even declared with a loud voice,
“ that it was my command, to prevent your
“ taking alarm at being deserted, and to spread
“ terror among the enemies, who thought
“ themselves going to be attacked in the rear.
“ Nor is this crime to be imputed to all the
“ Albans. They followed their leader, as you
“ would have done, had I given you the like
“ orders. Metius drew them after him : Me-
“ tius is the contriver of this war : Metius is
“ the violator of the Roman and Alban treaty.
“ I give others leave to follow his steps, if I
“ do not make him a notorious example to all
“ mortals.” At that instant Metius was sur-
rounded by some armed centurions, and the
king thus continued his speech. “ For the be-
“ nefit, prosperity, and happiness of the Ro-
“ man people, for my own and for yours too,
“ O Albans, I am resolved to remove all the
“ inhabitants of Alba to Rome ; to make the
“ common people citizens, and the rest sena-
“ tors : in a word, to unite the two nations in
“ one city, in one commonwealth : that, as
“ Alba formerly made two nations of one, she
“ may now return to unity.” The Albans, at
these words, were variously agitated in their
minds : but, as they saw themselves defenceless
and surrounded with armed soldiers, their fear
kept them silent. Tullus resuming his discourse,
and turning to Metius : “ If you could (says
“ he)

“ he) learn to be true to your word and trea-
 “ ties, I would suffer you to live, and instruct
 “ you myself. But as your disposition is in-
 “ curable, you shall, by your punishment, teach
 “ mankind to hold those things sacred and in-
 “ violable, which by you have been infringed.
 “ As therefore in yesterday’s action you kept
 “ your mind divided between Rome and Fi-
 “ denæ, so shall you now give your body to
 “ be divided and torn asunder.” Then he or-
 ders him to be fastened by his hands and legs to
 two chariots drawn by four horses, and so to be
 torn in pieces. The spectators could not bear
 so horrible a sight, but turned away their eyes.
 This was the first and last punishment among the
 Romans, wherein the laws of humanity were so
 little regarded. In all other instances they could
 boast that no nation ever used less severity in
 punishing offenders (a).

*Alba de-
 stroyed,
 and the in-
 habitants
 removed to
 Rome.*

Whilst these things passed in the camp, Ho-
 ratius had begun to execute his commission
 against Alba, after notifying to the Albans the
 order of king and senate. The Roman le-
 gions were sent presently after to demolish the
 city. They were commanded to pull down to
 the ground the walls, houses, and public edi-
 fices, except the temples, with a prohibition to
 misuse any person, or hinder the people from
 carrying away what they pleased. The soldiers,
 deaf to representations and prayers, demolish
 the walls and the buildings. Melancholy event,
 and singular in it’s kind! There was not that
 tumult and confusion as are seen in a city taken
 by storm, when the conquerors, breaking open

(a) Primum ultimumque
 illud supplicium apud Ro-
 manos exempli parum me-
 moris legum humanarum fu-

it. In aliis gloriari licet, nul-
 li gentium mitiores placuisse
 pœnas. *Liv. l. 1. c. 28.*

the

the gates, or battering down the walls, or forcing the citadel, spread themselves through every quarter, and with dreadful cries destroy all with fire and sword. A sad silence, caused by grief and despair, prevailed through the whole city. The unfortunate inhabitants, forgetting in their confusion what to take and what to leave, asked one another, equally incapable of giving or receiving advice. One while they stood as motionless at the door of their houses, which they could not bear to quit; another while they ran over them in distraction only to see them for the last time. But when they were pressed by the soldiers to come out, when they now heard from the farthest parts of the city the noise of the falling houses, when the dust raised from different quarters covered all as with a thick cloud, they hastily began to carry away what they could, relinquishing with extreme grief their household-gods, and the places of their birth and education. The streets were filled with a long train of citizens weeping and lamenting. The mutual sight of their calamities, by a natural sentiment of compassion, increased their tears. Lamentations and mournful cries were heard, especially of the women, when passing by the temples, they saw them surrounded with soldiers, and left their gods as it were captives. When they were all out, the Roman soldiers levelled to the ground all the buildings public and private, except the temples, which they were ordered to spare. Thus the work of near five hundred years, the time Alba had stood, was entirely destroyed in one hour.

Rome, by the destruction of Alba, was considerably increased. The number of citizens was doubled. Then it was that mount Cœlius was added to the city. The principal Albans were

were admitted among the Patricians ; and filled what places were vacant in the senate : the Tullii, Servitii, Quintii, Geganii, Curiatii, Clœlii.

Assemblies, in general, impatiently bear an augmentation of their number, because it cannot be done without diminishing the power and credit of the particular members. The Roman senate had much nobler views. The public interest was the primum mobile of that august assembly. On the present occasion, the senators were attentive, not only to increase the number of the citizens by new subjects, but to bind them together, to render them well affected to the state, to reconcile them to their new situation, to repair their losses, and ease their grief at leaving their native country. By these methods, full of a prudent fore-sight, and little known among other nations, Rome by degrees advanced to the power and grandeur designed her by Providence.

* *Turmæ.* Ten new troops * of horse were also formed out of the Albans, and the old legions were proportionably augmented. Thus every order of the state received some addition from the new-comers.

*War with
the Fidenates.
Dionys.
l. 3 p. 172.*

Tullus let his forces be quiet all the winter ; and early in the spring led them against the Fidenates. They had the boldness to withstand the Romans, who were much superior both in number and valour. Accordingly the war was neither difficult nor long. After the loss of a battle, the Fidenates fled to their city. Tullus besieged it, and pressed them so vigorously, that they were forced to surrender at discretion. Absolute master of Fidenæ, he was satisfied with punishing the most seditious, and restored the city to it's antient liberty.

He

He met with greater resistance from the Sabines, the most powerful nation of the country next to the Hetrurians. The cause of this new war was mutual injuries complained of on both sides, and refusal of satisfaction demanded. This war lasted some years, and was waged with great animosity. Several bloody battles were fought with almost equal success. At length, in the last battle, the Sabines, obliged to give way, were entirely routed, and pursued in their flight with great slaughter. The Romans got their spoils, plundered their camp, and loaded with booty, returned triumphant to Rome.

War with the Sabines
A. R. 100.
Ant. C.
652.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 30.
Dionys.
p. 173—
175.

This expedition was followed by a war with the Latines. What occasioned a quarrel between Rome and the Latine cities, antient colonies of Alba, was their refusal to submit to the Roman dominion. Fifteen years after the destruction of Alba, Tullus summoned by ambassadors the thirty colonies formerly dependant on Alba, to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Romans; pretending, that as lords of the Albans, they were entitled to all the rights of a nation subjected and incorporated with Rome. Here plainly appears the genius and character of the Roman people: Advantageously settled in a country, where they had been received, as I may say, by mere courtesy and a precarious title; they imitate not the rest of the nations, who, content with their respective territories, had no thoughts of subduing or incroaching upon their neighbours. The Romans, one would think; had even then a secret foresight of their future greatness, and believed themselves destined to become one day lords of all other nations.

War with the Latines
A. R. 102.
Ant. C.
650.
Dionys.
l. 3 p. 175.

It is very visible, Tullus's summons could not but extremely displease the Latines; and accordingly was the ground of the war between

them and the Romans ; which lasted five years : but was a war after the antient manner, carried on with great moderation. There were no great armies drawn up to destroy one another by bloody battles. There were no cities taken or brought into subjection, or reduced to the last extremities. They were satisfied with making inroads on one another's lands during harvest, and the country once pillaged, each side returned to their homes, after a mutual exchange of prisoners. Medullia, a Latine city, where the Romans, in Romulus's reign, had sent a colony, for a second revolt, and taking part with their nation, was the only place besieged by the Roman king. He easily took it, and so managed that it never more thought of rebelling. No other mischiefs, usually attending on war, was felt all that time, either by the Romans or Latines : which was the reason that both sides, less incensed against each other, were the more inclined to a peace.

*Several
prodigies.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 31.*

Some time after it's conclusion, information was brought to the king and the senate, that it rained stones on the Alban-hill. A voice also seemed to be heard, enjoining the Albans to use in their sacrifices their own country-rites, which had been laid aside since their union with the Romans, as if in quitting their country they had also quitted their gods. In consequence of this prodigy, sacrifices were ordered for nine days ; and the same custom was ever after observed on the like occasion.

*Great
plague fol-
lowed by
famine.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 38.
Dion. l. 1.
p. 16.*

About the same time, a more real evil, I mean the plague, afflicted the city of Rome. This disease deadened the courage and hands of the soldiers, so that they had no heart to take up arms, and renew their military exercises. But Tullus, who breathed nothing but war, and believed

believed that motion and exercise were best for their health, gave them no respite 'till he himself was seized with the sickness. As it was long and obstinate, it so humbled the courage and fierceness of Tullus, who had hitherto thought it a weakness unworthy a king to mind the ceremonies and observances of religion, that becoming on a sudden another man, as is usually the case with persons of that turn, he gave up himself to the lowest and most childish superstitions. As for the generality of the Romans, the antient reverence for the Deity revived through the city. Returning to the same spirit that prevailed under Numa, they found no other remedy for their present calamity but recourse to the gods, and appeasing their wrath with sacrifices.

As it is customary to embellish the death of princes with something extraordinary, it is said, the king having shut himself up, after Numa's example, to perform certain occult and private sacrifices, wherein he observed not the ceremonies enjoined, Jupiter, offended at his mistaken religion, darted his lightning upon him, by which he and his whole family were consumed. His death is also related some other ways, and Ancus Martius is thought to have been concerned in it. Tullus reigned thirty-two years. He was a prince of singular merit for war, and cannot be sufficiently praised for his presence of mind in battle, and prudence in the greatest dangers. But the Latin historians blame him for too strong an inclination for arms, and for his neglect, and afterwards superstitious regard, of religion.

Tullus's death.
A. R. 113.
Ant. C.
639.

CHAP. IV.

The REIGN of ANCUS MARTIUS.

Ancus Martius restores the divine worship, neglected under his predecessor. He is engaged in several wars against his will, and always comes off with advantage. He enlarges Rome by taking in mount Aventine: Builds Ostia: Walls in the Janiculum. Lucumo, native of Tarquinii, and originally of Corinth, settles at Rome, with his wife Tanaquil, gains the favour of king and people, and takes the name of Lucius Tarquin. Death of Ancus.

*Ancus
Martius
restores the
divine
worship.*

A.R. 114.

Ant. C.

638.

Liv. l. 1.

c. 32, 33.

Dionys.

l. 3. p.

177. 183.

AFTER a short interregnum, the people chose Ancus Martius king, grandson of Numa by his daughter Pompilia, and his election was confirmed by the senate. The new king, finding many of the sacrifices, formerly instituted by his grandfather, had been neglected, and the Romans, for the most part, instead of cultivating their lands, were seeking only to enrich themselves by plunder, assembled the people, and represented the necessity of reviving the same zeal for the service of the gods, as was shown under Numa; alledging that the contempt of their worship had drawn down upon Rome, plagues, pestilences, and numberless calamities; that the only remedy was to resume their former practices, and apply themselves, as heretofore, to the culture of their lands, and the care of their flocks. This speech was received with great applause and universal approbation.

Ancus,

Ancus, before all things, laboured the restoration and observance of his grandfather's wise institutions concerning religion. To that end, he sent for the pontifices, and received from their hands Numa's written prescriptions about the sacrifices. He transcribed them upon oaken boards, (for brass was not yet used for that purpose) and hung them up in the Forum for all the people to read. He also caused to flourish agriculture and husbandry. He sent out of the city all the idle people, and revived in all the farms ardor and diligence, by commending the industrious and rebuking the negligent: Cares worthy a good king and wise administration!

These happy beginnings promised a peaceable reign. But he had scarce ended these domestic regulations, when the Latines, who had made an alliance with Rome under Tullus, filled the country on all sides with bands of robbers, imagining that Ancus's aversion for war sprung from pusillanimity and want of experience. They considered him as a pious and devout prince, that would spend his whole reign in temples, amidst altars and sacrifices. They were mistaken. Ancus (a) partook of Numa's and Romulus's genius, and qualified the one by the other as occasion required. He perceived that pacific measures were necessary for his grandfather's reign, over a nation newly formed, and still fierce and unpolished. The times were altered. It was not safe for him to remain in

War with the Latines

(a) Medium erat in Anco ingenium, & Numæ & Romuli memor: &, præterquàm quòd avi regno magis necessariam fuisse pacem credebat, cùm in novo tum feroci populo; etiam, quod illi con-

tigisset otium sine injuria id se haud faciliè habiturum. Tentari patientiam, & tentatam contemni; temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora, quàm Numæ. *Liv. l. 1. c. 32.*

quiet according to his natural inclination. He plainly saw his patience would be tired, and carried too far would be contemned; and that the present juncture required rather a Tullus than a Numa. He therefore resolved upon war.

But to have right on his side, and gain the protection of heaven by the justice of his cause, and equity of his proceedings, he began with trying methods of accommodation. He sent his complaints to the Latines by ambassadors, and demanded satisfaction for the acts of hostility committed on his territory. The Latines returned in answer: "They knew nothing of what was laid to their charge; and if any disorder had happened, the mischief was done without their allowance. Besides, they acknowledged not the tribunal of Martius: and if they had any engagements with Tullus, they looked upon them as void by his death."

Then Martius proclaimed war upon them in form. The *Fecialis* or herald being come on the enemy's borders, cried with a loud voice; *Hear, O Jupiter, Juno, bear O Quirinus, bear O ye celestial, terrestria, and infernal gods! I call you all to witnesses, that the Latines are unjust; and as they have injured the Roman people, by the command of the Roman people, and with the consent of the senate, I and the Roman people declare war against them.* He performed the rest of the ceremonies described in Numa's reign.

L.1.c.32. By the whole form extant in Livy, it appears that no mention is made of the king, but all is transacted in the name, and by the authority of the people, that is, of the whole body of the nation.

After

After this declaration of war, Martius led his army against the Latines, and besieged Politorium before that city had time to receive aid from it's allies. Upon it's surrender, the king, instead of punishing, only removed the inhabitants to Rome with all their effects, and distributed them in the tribes. Next year the Latines sent a new colony to Politorium, and they began to cultivate the lands which belonged to it. Martius goes to attack them, and they boldly meet the Roman army, but are vanquished, and their city taken a second time. The king ordered it to be burnt, and the walls levelled, to destroy all hopes of making it again the seat of war, or the means of seizing the neighbouring lands. This expedition ended, he led back his forces to Rome.

The brunt of the war fell next upon Medullia, which was besieged by the Latines. It was a Roman colony resolutely bent to hold out to extremity. The Latines however took it by storm, and kept it three years: after which it was retaken by the Romans.

Martius had several other wars to maintain against the Sabines and other nations, who, breaking their treaties, attacked the Romans at different times. Many battles were fought, and sieges formed, wherein the Romans had generally the advantage. In the siege of Fidenæ, the king carried subterraneous mines from his camp to the walls of the city, which are the first mentioned among the Romans. In all these wars, Martius took several cities, whose inhabitants, according to the laudable custom practised from the beginning, were transplanted to Rome, and incorporated with the antient citizens.

Mount A-
ventine ta-
ken into the
circuit of
Rome.

Dionys.

l. 3 p. 182.

Liv. l. 1.

c. 33

About two

miles and

a quarter.

Town and

port of

Ostia.

By this wise policy, the circuit of Rome daily increased. The old Romans first settled in what was called the palatium: then the Sabines in the capitol and citadel: after that the Albans on mount Cœlius. Ancus took in mount Aventine for a habitation for the conquered Latines. This hill was of a good height, and eighteen stadia in compass. Ancus believing this mount might be a place of defence against a surprize, surrounded it with a wall and a ditch.

He undertook out of the city another and much more considerable work, which brought to Rome plenty of all necessaries, and opened a way to more glorious conquests. The Tyber, which flows from the Appennine mountains, and runs along the walls of Rome (a), discharged itself not far from the city into the Tyrrhenian sea, at a place then very incommodious, and too open for ships. Though it was navigable for large river-boats, and could even carry merchant-ships from the sea to Rome; yet it was of little use to the city for want of a safe port. Ancus, to promote trade, found means to contrive a harbour very commodious, and of a good extent. From that time large merchant-men easily entered the mouth of the Tyber, and were brought to Rome with the help of oars or ropes. When the ship was deep laden, she came to an anchor, and the merchandizes were conveyed in boats. Ancus improved also a narrow piece of land lying between the sea and the Tyber in the shape of an angle: there he built a city which he fortified, and named

(a) It is not so now. Rome side. The right belonged to
is built on both sides i.e. Tyber, *Ettruria*.
But then it lay only on the left

Ostia, from its situation *. From Rome to the sea is about sixteen miles. *Ostia* was between Rome and the mouth of the Tyber, about three miles from the sea. Eutrop. l. 1. Cluver.

Ancus likewise digged salt-pits on the sea-shore, and distributed among the people ten thousand bushels of the salt. These largesses were called *Congiara* (1), and became very common in process of time. Ancus moreover walled in the Janiculum, a high hill beyond the Tyber, and placed there a strong garrison for the security of the water-trade against the robberies of the Hetrurians, who possessed all the country on the other side the Tyber. For a communication between this new place and the city, he built over the river a timber-bridge, of an extraordinary make, whose parts were held together without being linked with iron. The pontifices † were appointed to keep up and repair the bridge. Salt pits. Liv. l. 1. c. 33. Plin. l. 31. c. 7. The Janiculum walled in.

He enlarged the *Pomærium*, that is, the space between the walls and the country. By which name the space also between the walls and the houses was called.

In proportion to the increase of inhabitants, was also that of licentiousness; and severity became the more necessary. Ancus, to check the audaciousness of malefactors, and frighten with the terror of punishment those who were not restrained by the laws, built a prison in the middle of the city, in view of the whole Forum.

* *Ostium* signifies a door or entrance. This town was called *Ostia*, because it was at the entrance of the port.

(1) So called from *congius* a Roman measure of about an

English gallon.

† 'Tis thought the name pontifex came from this commission to make or repair the bridges which was committed to them.

*Lucumo
settles at
Rome with
his wife
Tanaquil,
and takes
the name
of Tar-
quin.*

A. R. 121.

Ant. C.

631.

Liv. l. 1.

c. 34.

Dionys.

l. 5. p. 84.

—186.

In the reign of Ancus Martius there came and settled at Rome a stranger called *Lucumo*. His father Damaratus was of Corinth, and of the race of the Bacchiades, the most powerful of the country, and which had long held there the first rank. He had amassed immense riches by his commerce with the cities of Hetruria, the wealthiest of Italy. A sedition raised at Corinth by Cypselus, who usurped the government, forced him from thence, because he was not safe. He brought away with him all his money and goods, came to Tarquinii one of the most flourishing cities of Hetruria, and married a wife of the first quality. He had by her two sons, Aruns and Lucumo. By the death of his brother Aruns, Lucumo became sole heir to his father's great riches, and espoused Tanaquil, a lady of high birth, who impatiently bore that the family she was married into should be inferior in power to that wherein she was born (*a*). Seeing her husband little respected at Tarquinii because he was a stranger, better wife than citizen, she resolved to quit her birth-place, deeming that her country where her husband should be honoured. Rome seemed to her a proper scene to act the part she designed. She flattered herself that in a new-founded city, where merit makes nobility, it would be easy for Lucumo, with his great accomplishments, to attain the highest dignities. The example of the foreigners who had reigned there, enliven'd her hopes. She readily persuaded her husband, who was no less ambitious, and native of Tarquinii only by the mother's side. They departed therefore to Rome with all their ef-

(*a*) Summo loco nata, & nata erat, humiliora fineret quæ haud facillè iis in quibus ea quæ innupisset. *Liv.*

fects. When they came to the Janiculum, an eagle (as the report goes) with spread wings gently descending over the chariot, in which he was sitting with his wife, takes away his hat: then flying some time round the chariot with a loud noise, sets it again on his head. Every one sees, without my remarking, what is to be thought of such a story. Tanaquil, educated according to her country-custom in the knowledge of auspices, tenderly embraces her husband, and declares to him that by this extraordinary event, the gods clearly promise him the future sovereignty of Rome.

Full of these thoughts and expectations, they enter Rome. Lucumo took the name of Lúcius, with the surname of Tarquinius, which showed the place of his birth. The great wealth of this foreigner, and the magnificence of his retinue, a new sight at Rome, attracted immediately the eyes of the whole city; but quickly after, their attention was entirely engrossed by his person, and his rare endowments procured him an universal esteem. His affability and easiness of access, his agreeable and courteous behaviour to all the world, his natural inclination to oblige, his forwardness, though without pride or ostentation, to relieve the distressed, gained him all hearts. How glorious is it, but how rare, to make such use of riches, which yet alone can render them valuable! Perhaps his liberality was not wholly disinterested.

Nothing but Lucumo was talked of at Rome. *Eiogy of Lucumo,* The fame of his virtues and bounties reached the court, and bred in the king a desire to know him. He lost nothing by a close view. Ancus confessed his merit far excelled his reputation. He put him to the trial, and found him fit for all things. He discharged with a wonderful

*Death of
Ancus.*

A. R. 131.
Art. C.
614.

wonderful dexterity and readiness all the offices conferred on him by the king. He shined in council by the wisdom of his advice, which was always followed. He was no less distinguished in the field by his courage and prudence. And, what is still more admirable than all the rest, he tempered the lustre of his accomplishments with so perfect a modesty, that envy never dared to attack him, but he always remained equally agreeable to the Great and the Small. The king put an unlimited confidence in him; and gave him the highest mark of it, in appointing him, by his last will, guardian to his children. Ancus died after a reign of twenty-four years. He was not inferior in merit, whether for war or for peace, to any of his predecessors.

C H A P. V.

The REIGN of TARQUINIUS
PRISCUS.

Tarquin is declared king. Creates a hundred new senators. Maintains several wars against his neighbours, and comes off with advantage. Tarquin's institutions during peace. Inlarges, beautifies, and strengthens the city. Makes aqueducts and drains. Builds the circus. Lays the foundation of the capitol. Story of Navius the augur. Birth of Servius Tullius. Tarquin chuses him for his son-in-law. The king's death, murdered by order of Ancus Martius's sons.

THE sons of Ancus Martius were now *Tarquin is* past childhood. The eldest was fourteen *declared* years old, and consequently might obstruct Tar- *king.* quin's ambitious designs, if the election of a king was delayed any time. This Tarquin knew, and therefore hastened the election to the utmost of his power. He then discovered himself to be the man he had always been inwardly in his heart, that is, a person whose proceedings had been all influenced by the desire of empire. This instance shows that ambition may put on the mask of virtue to attain it's ends, and appear to the world modest, equitable, disinterested, beneficent. However, though these may be but false virtues, yet a state would be very happy if rulers who obtain the sovereignty by that method, would always keep the same character : which was Tarquin's case.

When

A.R. 138. When the day of election was appointed,
 Ant. C. Tarquin, fearing the presence of Ancus's sons
 614. might be contrary to his views, sent them out of
 Liv. 1. 1. the way on pretence of taking the diversion of
 c. 35. hunting. He no longer conceal'd his design,
 Dionys. but by a speech proper to gain the suffrages of
 l. 3. p. the people, openly sued for the crown, which
 126. none of his predecessors had ever done. Tarquin told the assembly, "What he desired was
 " not unprecedented, since two foreigners had
 " before him mounted the throne, Tatius and
 " Numa; the first of whom, not only a
 " stranger but an enemy, was made king.
 " Ever since he was his own master, and could
 " dispose of himself, he had removed to Rome
 " with his wife and all his effects. Of the time
 " men spend in public offices, he had passed
 " a greater part at Rome than in his own
 " country. He had been so happy as both in
 " war and in peace to be trained up under
 " Ancus Martius himself, who was pleased to
 " be his master and instructor in the Roman
 " rites, customs, and laws. For respect and
 " submission to the king he was second to no
 " man, for generosity and beneficence to others
 " not even to the king himself." This speech
 was the more favourably received, as it contain-
 ed nothing but the truth. The people with
 one consent elected him king.

*Tarquin
 creates a
 hundred
 new sena-
 tors.*

Liv. 1. 1. He began, in order to be still more popular,
 c. 35. with chusing a hundred persons out of the Ple-
 Dionys. beian families, eminent in the profession of arms,
 l. 3. p. and most conversant in state-affairs, and advan-
 199. ced them to the degree of Patricians and Sena-
 tors. In this he consulted his own no less than
 the interest of the public; for owing their ad-
 vancement to him, they were so many creatures
 subservient to his pleasure. They were stiled

Patres

Patres minorum gentium, to distinguish them from the senators of the old creation, who were called *Patres majorum gentium*. Thus the senate, hitherto consisting but of two hundred, was by this new creation increased to three hundred members; which number remained unaltered many ages. To fill thus with eminent subjects an assembly where all affairs of moment were debated and determined, was doing the republic great service. And indeed, to the wise conduct of the senate will Rome be indebted for her grandeur. But it is very surprizing, as I have observed, and very glorious for that assembly, that an augmentation of one hundred senators should not meet with opposition, nor breed any complaints.

Tarquin increased also the number of vestals, whose business was to maintain the sacred fire. Numa, as we said, appointed four; Tarquin added two more, because the public sacrifices and religious ceremonies, at which the vestals were obliged to assist, being multiplied, it was also necessary to increase the priestesses. Their number remained ever after fixed to six.

He made other regulations respecting religion, the civil government and ornament of the city, which I shall collect at the end of his reign, to prevent an interruption of the course of his many wars. I shall be very short, except when any material circumstance worthy the reader's attention shall occur.

It is no wonder that the neighbouring nations should with a jealous eye behold Rome grown powerful by new acquisitions, and forced by the increase of her new citizens to enlarge her bounds, and daily widen the circuit of her walls. The principal of these nations were the Latines, the Hetrurians, and the Sabines. The slightest

Vestals increased.
Dionys.
p. 199.

The neighbouring nations jealous of Rome.
Dionys.
l. 3. p. 186--189.
Liv. l. 1. pretence c. 36--38.

pretence made them forget treaties and oaths extorted by necessity, and put them upon renewing wars hitherto fatal to them, but which they hoped would prove more successful. One while they attacked Rome singly and separately; another while they strengthened themselves with the assistance of their neighbours. Their grand error, which proved their destruction, was their not joining all together at first, or at least at the time we are speaking of, against a common and very dangerous enemy, that equally threatened them all with slavery. Rome with great policy weakened them by a separation, and strengthened herself by an union of all the nations she subdued.

*War with
the La-
tines.*

Ancus's death seemed to the Latines a favourable opportunity to endeavour to recover by arms some towns they had been forced to yield to the Romans. The new king, who foresaw their design, waited not their coming, but marched first against them. He took from them several places, and among the rest Collatia, five miles from Rome. He gave the government of it to his nephew Aruns Tarquinius, posthumous and only son of his brother, who had been dead many years. This Aruns, first named *Egerius* *, because he had no estate, assumed then the name of *Collatinus*, which descended to his posterity.

* *From
egeris, to
want.*

There were, during this and the following campaigns, on both sides, ravages of lands, assaults of cities, frequent skirmishes, pitched battles, sometimes very bloody and obstinate, but generally favourable to the Romans, by the final success, and by the cession of many places. After a very great advantage obtained by Tarquin over the Latines, who were extremely emboldened by a strong reinforcement of Hetrurians, he

he marched to the conquest of the Latine towns, bent to carry by storm all that should refuse to surrender. But he was not obliged to form one siege: all threw themselves upon his clemency, and by a general deputation in the name of the republic of the Latines, sued for peace on his own conditions, and open their gates to him. Tarquin, far from making an ill use of his victory, showed to all the cities great moderation and lenity. He put not one Latine to death; used neither banishments nor confiscations of estates; made no alterations in their laws or their government; but obliged them only to release all their prisoners without ransom; to restore to their masters the slaves they had taken away, to give back what they had plundered from the country-people, and make them full reparation for the damages sustained by their incursions. Upon these conditions Tarquin received into his alliance and friendship the people of Latium. Thus ended a war, which, with some interruption, had lasted near twenty years. The king returned to Rome loaded with glory, and made his entrance in triumph.

The next year war was kindled between the Sabines and Romans. There was fought a very sharp, but not decisive battle. The armies parted to meet again in the spring. The Sabines took the field first, supported by a considerable body of Hetrurians, and posted themselves near Fidenæ at the conflux of the Tyber and Tiverone. They formed there two camps on the same line, parted only by the canal common to both rivers, over which they laid a bridge of boats for communication, and to render the two camps but one. Tarquin, informed of their proceedings; led out all his forces, and posted himself a little above the Sabines, a

War with the Sabines.
A.R. 157.
Ant. C.
595.
A.R. 158.
Ant. C.
594.

few paces from the Tiverone, upon a rising ground, when he fortified his camp. However desirous of fighting both armies might be, there was no regular battle. Tarquin used a stratagem which answered his purpose as well.

He threw on the Tiverone, near which he was incamped, a number of small boats laden with dry wood and other combustible matter, dawbed with resin and sulphur. About the fourth watch, that is, three hours before sunrise, he set them on fire, and turned them loose with a fair wind into the stream. These fire-boats quickly passed the conflux, and coming to the wooden bridge, fired it in several places. The Sabines seeing the flames from all parts, ran to the bridge to extinguish them. Mean time Tarquin, who was marching in order of battle, came at break of day to one of the camps. He found it but weakly defended, for most of the enemies were employed in quenching the fire: and therefore he became master of it without any difficulty. The second camp of the Sabines, posted on the other side the river, was at the same time attacked by another body of Romans, who departing in the beginning of the night in small boats, had passed the conflux by means of the darkness without being perceived, and only waited the firing of the bridge to assault the enemies second camp. This enterprize was as successful as the first. The Romans cut in pieces part of those that were in the camp. The rest were either drowned in the river by endeavouring to escape the enemy, or consumed by the fire in trying to preserve the bridge. Tarquin, in possession of both camps, divided the spoils among his soldiers. As for the prisoners, as well Sabines as
Hetrurians,

Hetrurians, he comanded them to be conducted to Rome, and put under a strong guard.

In such actions it is, that a general's abilities visibly appear. To deceive the enemies in this manner, he must contrive the design alone, keep it secret 'till the time of execution, direct all the circumstances and descend to the minutest particulars, give so just orders, that all may be ready to act in concert, and troops diſpatched from different places and at different times may all arrive at the rendezvous exactly at the hour appointed. In a pitched battle, eſpecially when the armies are very numerous, how many things are left to chance, which the general cannot foreſee or direct! Here every thing proceeds from his own head, every thing is the effect of his prudence!

The Sabines, confounded and humbled by this fatal blow, which had deſtroyed their beſt troops, had no farther thoughts for the preſent of defending themſelves by arms, but recurred to the mercy of the Romans. They ſent ambaffadors to Rome, and obtained a truce for ſix years.

As for the Hetrurians, incenſed at being ſo often defeated by the Romans and reſuſed their prisoners, whom Tarquin detained as ſo many hoſtages, they ordered in a general council that the whole nation ſhould enter into a league againſt the common enemy, and thoſe that reſuſed to join ſhould be declared rebels, and forfeit the rights of the community (1). By virtue of

*War with
the Hetrurians.*

(1) *Hetruria extended from the Tyrrhenian ſea to the Apennine hills, and from Liguria to the Tyber. The Latines called the inhabitants Etrusci, Tuſci, the Greeks Tyrrheni.*

The whole country was divided into twelve cantons, called Lucumonies, which were governed by twelve magiſtrates called Lucumones. The twelve capital cities were, Cluſium, Peruſia,

of this order, they all took arms, passed the Tyber, and incamped near Fidenæ. That city, being treacherously taken by means of a sedition raised by their practices, enabled them to seize a great number of prisoners upon the Roman territory, and carry them away. They left a strong garrison in the place, which they believed would be of great service in their design of continuing the war with the Romans.

A.R. 159.
Ant. C.
593. The next spring the Romans were first in the field. Tarquin, to be in condition to withstand the formidable league of the Hetrurians against him, had armed all the Romans capable of serving, and raised as many troops as he could among the allies. The first campaigns were not distinguished with any memorable event. Of all the Hetrurians, the Veientes suffered most by the ravage of their lands, which the Romans continued several years successively.

A.R. 163.
Ant. C.
589. At last they sat down before Fidenæ, resolving at any rate to drive the garrison thence, and be revenged of the inhabitants for delivering the city to the Hetrurians. The besieged made a long and vigorous defence, and exerted their utmost against enemies from whom no quarter was to be expected. The sallies were brisk and frequent, several very bloody battles were fought, wherein both parties engaged with uncommon obstinacy, the thirst of revenge on one side, and despair on the other, creating in every action, fresh courage and strength. The city, however, was taken by storm, and the garrison with all other Hetrurian soldiers put in chains. As for the authors of the rebellion,

Perusia, Cortona, Aretium, *truria was the seat of learning for the Romans before*
Volaterra, Vetulonium, Russellæ, Tarquinii, Volsinii, *Greece was conquered.*
Cære, Falerii and Veii. He-

some

some were ignominiously scourged to death in the sight of the whole army, and others sent into perpetual banishment. Tarquin divided the lands of the Fidenates among the Romans whom he left there to dwell and defend it against the attacks of the enemy.

The last engagement between the Romans A.R 164. and Hettrurians was fought near Eretum in the Ant. C. country of the Sabines. The Hettrurians ven- 588.

tured one battle more at the instance of the inhabitants of that city, who put them in hopes the Sabines would join them. The six years truce with the Romans was expired, and the Sabines in general had nothing so much at heart as the reparation of their losses. They flattered themselves with success, relying much on a flourishing youth, to which time had been given to grow and gather strength during the peace. But all these projects vanished, because the Roman army took the field much sooner than was imagined, so that the Hettrurians received no regular troops from any city of the Sabines. They were only joined by a few volunteers who were well paid. Tarquin's advantage over them in this action, was decisive for the Romans. Accordingly the victory was the most signal they had hitherto gained. The Roman senate and people celebrated it by decreeing Tarquin a triumph. The Hettrurians for that time were discouraged, because of a great number of troops sent from all their cities, very few returned home. Some remained on the field of battle, others trying to escape, fell into impassable ways, and had no remedy but to surrender to the conquerors,

In a situation so deplorable, the heads of the nation, informed of Tarquin's preparing a new expedition against them, resolved in council to

A.R. 165
Ant. C.
587.

treat with him of a peace. Immediately a deputation of the most noted persons for age and quality was sent from each city, with full power to accept of such terms as the king of the Romans should please. Tarquin, after they had made a long speech, told them, he had but one question to ask, namely, whether they still pretended to dispute equality with him, or whether they were come to own their defeat, and restore their cities to his obedience. All then declared their cities, as well as the conditions of peace, to be absolutely in his power. *The submission*, replies he, *is all I require. Go and tell your Republic so. 'Till you return, rely upon the truce I now grant you.*

Upon these promises the deputies withdrew, and returned in a few days, not with bare words, but with all the ensigns of sovereignty with which their kings were used to be cloathed, as a proof of their entire submission to his authority. They offered him a crown of gold, an ivory chair, a golden scepter, a mantie mixed with purple and other colours. They are said to offer him also twelve axes from the twelve cities. Each city, among the Hetrurians, had a lic̄tor that walked before the king, carrying an ax in the midst of a bundle of rods; and when the twelve cities joined in any expedition, the twelve lic̄tors walked before the commander in chief. This ceremony was borrowed by the Romans, whether in Romulus's time, or, as some others believe, in Tarquin's reign. He would not appear with these new marks of honour, before he had consulted the Roman senate and people, and obtained their consent. Such was the success of Tarquin's nine years war with the Hetrurians. I don't know, however, whether this full submission of
the

the Hetrurians is not a little exaggerated by Dionysius Halicarnassensis. Porfena, Tolumnius, the siege of Veii, which will presently be mentioned, show, Hetruria was not yet entirely subdued.

There were now only the Sabines to dispute *War with* the superiority with the Romans. By how much *the Sa-* the nearer these people were to Rome, by so *bines.* much the more famous were they for their bravery and extent of a rich country, and by so much the more desirous was Tarquin of subjecting them to his dominion. He proclaimed *A.R. 167.* therefore war against them, on pretence of their *Ant. C.* refusing to deliver up those who would have had *585.* their nation declare for the Hetrurians. Both armies took the field very early. The loss of the first battle, wherein the Sabines were entirely defeated, cooled not their ardor. They raised a fresh army more numerous than the first. The war lasted five whole years, during which time there were continual incursions on both sides, and mutual ravages of the enemies country. Several battles were fought, wherein the Sabines had sometimes the better: but the considerable advantages were generally on the side of the Romans. At length, this obstinate war was ended by a battle. The two nations assembled all their forces with those of their allies, and fought a whole day with great vigour. The Romans gained the victory. A great number of Sabines lay dead on the field, in generously defending their lives. A greater number of run-aways were taken prisoners. The enemy's camp, full of riches and booty, remained to the conquerors, who, masters of the field, after destroying all with fire and sword, returned to Rome about the end of the year. Tarquin triumphed a third time.

A. R. 171.
Ant. C.
5th.

The next year he made fresh preparations against the same Sabines, who, disheartened by their losses, staid not to be attacked. The principal persons of each city, deputed to Tarquin, who was now in the field at the head of his army, assured him, their destiny was in his hands, and prayed him to consult his clemency and goodness in granting them a peace. The Roman king received the more gladly the free submission of the Sabines, as it saved him the dangers of purchasing it by a conquest. He made an alliance with them on the same terms he had done with the Heturians; and moreover, released all the Sabine prisoners without a ransom.

Character
of the Ro-
man Peo-
ple.

In all that has been hitherto said, appears the character of the Roman people (of which much plainer marks will be seen in the sequel); namely, their desire of dominion, their pretending a claim to give law to others, and their belief of being destined to become lords of the universe. One would think they received an order from heaven, giving them an absolute dominion over all nations:

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

*Thee bear'n, brave Roman, form'd for high com-
mand.*

With what haughtiness and pride do they already speak to the nations! but this haughtiness and this pride are accompanied with an air of goodness and lenity which removes the fears. As they are offended and incensed with resistance, they are gained and disarmed by submission.

Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.

To spare the suppliant, and pull down the proud.
They

They are a conquering nation, but that seeks only to subdue, not destroy ; and that always aspires to make the vanquished their friends.

I promised, after the recital of Tarquin's martial exploits, an account of his most remarkable actions in peace : for he hath rendered himself equally famous in both respects.

*Tarquin's
regulations during
peace.*

Dion. l. 3.

His increasing the number of the Senators and Vestals has already been remembered.

*p. 199—
202.*

He beautified with shops and other works the Forum, where justice was administered, and the assemblies of the people and markets were held.

*Liv. l. 1.
c. 38.*

He rebuilt the walls of Rome with great stones, according to art, which were raised before in a very rough manner.

He made aqueducts and common-sewers to convey water to Rome, and to carry off the filth into the Tyber : works of infinite usefulness, (the one for the conveniencies of life, the other for the cleanliness of the city) and of a magnificence not to be conceived, and which must have cost immense sums. They may be judged of by a circumstance related by Dionysius Halicarnassensis. He observes, that the sewers having been in time so neglected, that the water would not pass through them, the Censors, who undertook to to cleanse them, received a thousand talents, (that is, 75000 *l.* sterling) to defray the expence. The same author adding to the aqueducts and sewers the causeways paved with stone, which were long after raised, says, nothing gave him a more lofty idea of the grandeur and power of the Roman empire, than those magnificent works.

*Aqueducts
& drains.*

Besides these edifices Tarquin built the Circus, between mount Aventine and mount Palatine, in which he made 'covered seats' for the spectators.

The Circus.

tors.

tors. Before that time they they were placed on wretched amphitheatres, built with boards, and supported with posts, being hastily run up when the games were to be celebrated. And if we look farther back, we find the spectators standing on the ground. (a) Tarquin divided the Circus into thirty parts, one for each Curia, from whence the games could be conveniently seen by every man. This building became afterwards the most magnificent work of Rome, and the most capable of striking with admiration. It will be mentioned in its time.

*Tarquin
prepares
the founda-
tions of
the Capi-
tol.*

He undertook also to build a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, pursuant to his vow in a battle with the Sabines. But, because the hill, designed for this edifice, being very high and steep, had no even ground; to correct this defect, he raised a high and strong wall all round, with a large terrass between the wall and the top of the hill. By this immense labour he levelled the ground, and made it fit to bear any building. Nevertheless he laid not the foundations of the temple, because he lived but four years after his wars. It was a very noble and most magnificent undertaking. It is easy to judge of it by what has been said, especially if it is remembered, that a rock was also to be cut through, which took up great part of the hill, and the rest of the ground to be levelled. Tarquin the Proud laid the foundations, raised great part of the building, and almost brought it to perfection. But the whole work was finished by the consuls, the third year after the expulsion of the kings.

(a) Nam antea subitariis grandibus & scena in tempus structa ludos edi solitos: vel,

si vetustiora repetas, stantem populum spectavisse. *Tacit. Annal. l. 14.*

It is justly thought strange that Tarquin should undertake such expensive works, at a time when the revenues of Rome were yet very small. The spoils taken from the enemies, and carefully kept in the publick treasury, supplied doubtless great part of the expence necessary for building such stately edifices: but the prince found a plentiful stock, in his frugality and care not to run into any needless expences on his own account. Besides, we know, the people were employed in works relating to the beautifying of the city, and the building of the temples.

There happened in Tarquin's reign, if the historians are to be credited, a very extraordinary event, which greatly increased the reputation of the Augurs and Auspices. Tarquin intending to add three new centuries of Knights to the three centuries established by Romulus, and to give them his own and the name of his friend. Accius Navius, the most celebrated augur of his time, told him, such an alteration could not be made without first consulting the will of the gods by the flight of birds. The king, vexed to be crossed in his designs, to disgrace his art, and show all divination was but chance, commanded him to go and consult his auspices, whether what he had in his thoughts could be effected. The augur obeys, and returning some time after, affirms the thing to be practicable. Then the king, smiling, says to him, *I was thinking whether you could cut this flint with a razar which I have here*, and gave them to him. Accius, without a moment's hesitation, taking the razor cut the flint in two. Tarquin, full of admiration, erected him in the place a statue of brass with his head veiled. In the same place were put the razor and flint, to preserve

preserve to posterity the memory of so extraordinary a fact. By this miraculous event the science and profession of augury was held in greater honour than ever. From that time no war was undertaken, no assembly convened, no resolution made; in a word, no public affair was transacted without first consulting the augurs.

How fabulous soever this fact may appear, Cicero makes his brother Quintus say (a) all the annals must be burnt, and all historical facts be rejected, to call it in question after the authority of so many famous authors, and what is of much greater force, after the testimony of the statue erected for a memorial of it, which was still in being in the time of Dionysius Harlicarnassensis. But Cicero (b) himself, though augur, makes a jest of the story, and ranks it with fabulous inventions, *commentitiis fabulis*: wherein he is much more worthy of credit than his brother, who pleading the cause of *divination*, alledges, as advocate, whatever had been devised by the augurs in favour of that subject.

Was the fact real, as St Augustin seems to think, it should be inferred, that God, to punish the idolatrous superstition of the Romans, and the vain confidence they placed in their false gods, from whom they hoped to get the knowledge of the future, which he has reserved to himself alone, suffered the devil to work this miracle, very proper to foment and increase the blind credulity of that people.

(a) *Negemus omnia, comburamus Annales, ficta hæc esse dicamus, &c.* 1. *de Divin.* n. 33.

(b) *Contemne cotem At-*

tii Nævii. Nihil debet esse in philosophia commentitiis fabellis loci. 1. *de Divin.* n. 80.

I have deferred 'till now to speak of Servius Tullius, whom we shall quickly see on the throne. He was of Corniculum, a city of Latium. His mother Ocrisia, a lady of quality and eminent virtue, was with child when that city was taken by Tarquin, who carried her away with the rest of the captives, and gave her to the queen. Ocrisia was delivered of a son, called Tullius after his father, with the surname of Servius, to denote the state of servitude wherein he was born. For all prisoners of war, every one knows, were slaves as well as their children. He was nursed and educated in the palace as a slave. One day as he was in the king's room, and asleep, a flame was seen to encircle his head. These antient facts are always attended with prodigies. At the report of this event, the king came into the room. As somebody was bringing water to quench the flame, the king prevented it, and commanded the child not to be touched 'till he waked of his own accord. Very soon the flame ceased with the child's sleep. Then Tanaquil taking her husband aside: *See you (said she) that child which we educate in so low a manner: know, he will one day be the light and support of our house. Wherefore, let us for the future use all our care to give him an education worthy the great hopes we should conceive of him.* From that time they looked upon him as their own son, and caused him to be trained up in all things becoming a youth of quality, and one designed for the highest honours.

He wisely improved the instructions he received, and showed in all his behaviour sentiments and dispositions worthy a throne. Tarquin, when he came to chuse a son-in-law, found none among the Roman youth more deserving than him of that honour, and gave him

his

Birth, education, and merit of Servius Tullius.
Liv. l. 1. c. 39—41.
Dionys. l. 4. p. 206—211.

his daughter in marriage. This new advancement, which seemed to place him near the throne, far from breeding in him haughtiness and pride, served only to set forth his merit with more lustre, and show his rare endowments to better advantage. The king often put him at the head of his army, where he always behaved with the bravery and prudence of a consummate general. Whenever Tarquin, whether through age or infirmities, was unable to discharge his function in person, Tullus was immediately employed. In all the offices he had to sustain, he discovered such ripeness and wisdom, and so gained the people by his civil and obliging behaviour, that all the wishes and suffrages began already to declare in his favour. Tanaquil had brought the king but one son, who died in the flower of his youth, and had left two sons unqualified, by their age, to succeed their grandfather. All eyes were therefore cast upon Servius as Tarquin's future successor.

Tarquin's death, assassinated by order of Ancus's sons.

So distinguished a preference roused the jealousy and ambition of Ancus's two sons. They had all along with concern seen themselves removed from the throne by the fraud of their guardian, and bore with impatience the substitution of a foreigner in their place. But they thought it the highest indignity and utmost disgrace, if, from the hands of Tarquin, the scepter should not pass at least into theirs, and if they should have the vexation to see it again descend to a man of nothing: if in a city, where, about a hundred years before, Romulus, offspring of a god, and himself a god, had, during his mortal life wore the crown, a slave, son of a slave his mother, should be seen on the same throne. *What dishonour* (said they to one another)

another) *would it reflect on Rome, and particularly on our family, if, whilst the race of Ancus subsists, the throne should be open, not only to foreigners, but even to slaves!* They resolve therefore to remove that dishonour with the sword. But they were no less incensed against Tarquin himself than against Servius; and many reasons induced them to begin with taking away his life. For if he survived his son-in-law, he might, as king, be better able to revenge the murder they should commit, than a private man. Besides, in all probability, Servius being killed, Tarquin would not fail to chuse another son-in-law, and make him his successor. So it was agreed by the two brothers, the king should be first attacked.

They chuse for instruments of their design two bold and resolute peasants, and gave them ample instructions. The peasants come near the entrance into the palace with hatchets on their shoulders, quarrelling with one another, and making a great noise. This disturbance attracts the attention of the whole guard. Their quarrel growing warmer, they demand to be heard by the king. Their clamours had now reached his apartment. He was very ready to give them audience, and hear their case. The kings, to become more popular, were easy of access to all their subjects, and judged their differences in person. They begin to bawl, and speak both together, continually interrupting each other. It was with difficulty they were made to speak by turns. One of them begins with setting forth the cause of his complaint, and relating the fact in the manner agreed upon beforehand. Whilst the king was attentively listening to his story, the other strikes him on the head with his hatchet, and leaving it in the wound, they both
run

run away. The king's attendants remove him just expiring in their arms, and the murderers are seized.

The whole city is immediately in an uproar, and there is a great concourse of people about the palace. Tanaquil, in the tumult, orders all the gates to be shut, and places a strong guard, with a command to let no man go in or out. Mean while she diligently prepares every thing to dress the wound, as if there was some hope: and, in case there should be none, she takes other measures. Having instantly sent for Servius, and shown him her dying husband, she conjures him, taking him by the hand and presenting to him her two grandsons, not to suffer his father-in-law's death to go unpunished, nor his mother-in-law and these unhappy orphans to become the sport of their enemies. *The throne is your's (says she) if you show yourself a man, and not theirs who have committed murder by the hands of others. Take courage, and follow the path marked out plainly to you by the gods in that divine light which heretofore shone round your head. Now let that celestial flame rouse you: Now shake off slumber indeed. We, though foreigners, have reigned here. Think then, not whence you are sprung, but what you are. And if, through concern at this fatal accident, you cannot advise yourself, be advised by me (1).*

As the clamour and violence of the people could hardly be restrained, the queen, looking

(1) Tuum est, inquit, Servi, si vir es, regnum: non eorum qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere. Eri-ge te, Deoque duces seque-re, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portenderant. Nunc te

illa coelestis excitet flamma. Nunc expergiscere verè. Et nos peregrini regnavimus. Qui sis, non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subita consilia torpent; at tu mea se-quare. *Liv. l. 1. c. 41.*

out of window, bids them lay aside their concern, saying, “ The king, struck with a sudden and violent blow, had at first lost his senses; the wound was not deep: he was now come to himself. After wiping off the blood, the wound had been examined, and was like to dwell. She hoped they would see him in a few days. In the mean time it was his pleasure the people should obey Servius, who would administer justice, and discharge the other functions of royalty.” Accordingly Servius appears with the royal robes and lictors, and seated on the throne; decides some causes immediately, and upon others declare he will consult the king. Mean while, Ancus’s sons, when they heard the two murderers were seized, imagining the king to be still alive, and seeing the great power of Servius, went into voluntary banishment at Sueffa Pometia, a city of the Volsci.

Tarquin the elder died at eighty years of age; and had reigned thirty-eight. He left two grandsons * under age, Lucius Tarquinius, and Aruns Tarquinius; and two daughters, both married.

* *Dionysius Halicarnassensis, in a long dissertation, shows them to be grandsons to Tarquin the Elder, and not his own sons.*

CHAP. VI.

The REIGN of SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Tullius is declared king by the people without the consent of the senate. He maintains several wars, which are happily ended. He divides the people into nineteen tribes. He establishes the census or survey. He introduces the custom of enfranchising slaves. He makes a particular alliance between the Romans and Latines. Tragical death of Tullius.

*Servius
Tullius is
declared
king by the
people.*

*Dionys.
L. 4. p. 213,
— 218.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 41.*

TULLIUS having governed some days in the king's name, and seeing his authority sufficiently established, published at length Tarquin's death, as if he was just expired. He performed his obsequies in a magnificent manner, and erected for him a stately monument with all the ornaments of majesty. Then he declared himself guardian of the young princes, grandsons of Tarquin. He took care of the state as their inheritance and patrimony, and in that quality assumed the reins of the government.

The senators, offended and alarmed at this conduct, which opened a way for an entire independence on their authority, concerted measures to prevent the consequences, and oppose the growing power of Tullius. He, fully informed of their intentions, omitted nothing to gain the people's favour in so urgent and decisive a juncture. To that end, he assembles the people, presents to them Tarquin's grandsons, and puts them under their protection, as he was charged by their dying grandfather, in words which,

which, says he, will for ever remain engraven on my heart. “ He briefly sums up the important services Tarquin had performed for the state, modestly rehearses his own endeavours to walk in his steps, and his sincere desire to ease the poor citizens. He concludes with protesting, that as guardian of these unfortunate children, who are going to be exposed, as well as himself, to the utmost danger, he has nothing to do, but to put them into the hands, and under the protection, of the Roman people, who alone for the future can be a father to them.”

Tullius's speech was received with the universal applause of the assembly. Some that were present, whom he had prepared beforehand, cried out, He should be chosen king, and the Curiae be called to the vote. This cry was instantly followed by the whole multitude. Tullius thought the motion should be improved, and accordingly summoned the Comitia to meet, to which were called the people of the country. The Curiae met on the day appointed, and all declaring for Tullius, they advanced him to the royalty. Tullius ascended the throne, without giving himself any concern about the senate's consent, who confirmed not, according to custom, the decree of the people.

A foreign war seasonably arose to stop the domestic commotions which might be excited by the discontent of the senators. The Veientes were the first that revolted: Their example was followed by the Cœretes and Tarquinians, and immediately all Etruria was in arms. This war held twenty years without intermission. The inroads were frequent on both sides, and the two nations engaged often with all their forces. Servius had always the advantage, as well

A.R. 176:
Ant. C.
576.

Tullius sustains several wars, which ended successfully.
Dionys.
l. 3 p. 23.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 42.

in particular skirmishes, as in general actions. He triumphed three times, and in the end reduced them to obedience. The twelve cities of which the Etrurian nation consisted, drained of men and money, met together in the twentieth year, and resolved to submit again on the same terms given them by Tarquin. Servius very readily granted them, with all their rights and privileges. But for the Cæretes, Tarquinians, and Veientes, who had been the leaders in the rebellion, and drawn the others into their quarrel, he punished them with confiscation of lands, which he presently after distributed among those that were received into the number of Roman citizens. This good success secured him the crown for ever.

Tullius
erects tem-
ples to *For-*
tuna.

In *Quæst.*
Rom.
p. 281.

Several
regula-
tions.
Dionys.
l. 4. p. 218.
— 221.

He believed it incumbent upon him to show his gratitude to the goddess *Fortuna*, by whom he had been so constantly favoured. He dedicated to her two temples, one by the name of *Bona Fortuna*, the other, of *Fortuna Virilis*. Plutarch mentions a third temple, dedicated also by Servius, to *Fortuna Primigenia*, because she had from his birth taken him under her care. He names several others, which show Tullius had always before him the change which happened in his fortune, and was not ashamed of the low estate from whence he was advanced.

At his accession to the crown he had divided part of the lands of the public among the poor citizens, who had none of their own to cultivate, but were obliged to gain a livelihood by labouring for others. He had also made several laws about contracts, and the frauds committed therein, which were all approved in the *Comitia*.

Servius is remarked to be the first king of Rome that stamped an impression on the money.

money. It consisted before but of shapeless bits of copper or lead, of such a weight. The image of a lamb was the first stamp, and from thence money was called *pecunia*.

Servius employed the leisure procured him by the late peace with the Hetrurians, in works both useful and grand. He took in mount Viminalis and mount Esquilinus, each of which was capable of containing a city of a just extent. He gave the ground for those to build on that had no house, and raised for himself a palace on the finest part of mount Esquilinus. He was the last king that enlarged the circuit of the city, by adding these two hills to the other five.

After Tullius had inclosed the seven hills within the city, he divided it into four quarters, which were named from the principal hills they contained. To the three tribes Rome was divided into by Romulus, he added a fourth, and placed one in each quarter. The inhabitants of mount Capitolinus, mount Palatinus, and the space between these two hills, composed the first tribe, called *Tribus Palatina*. They that dwelt in the quarter called *Suburra*, containing mount Coelius, made the second tribe, which retained the name of *Tribus Suburrana*. The inhabitants of mount Esquilinus were called *Tribus Esquilina*. Lastly, they that lived on the mounts Viminalis and Quirinalis, bore the name of the hills on which they were placed, and were called *Tribus Collina* *, or *Collatina*.

He divided also the whole Roman territory into fifteen tribes, which, added to the other four, made nineteen. The number was afterwards increased at different times, and at last fixed to thirty-five tribes, as I shall observe in the sequel.

Tullius takes in mount Viminalis and mount Esquilinus.

Rome divided into four quarters.

** From collis, a hill.*

Nineteen tribes.

Tullius After this, he set about a regulation, the wi-
establisbes fest and most advantageous that could possibly
the Census. be devised for the republic, and withal the pro-
Dionys. perest to gain him the senate, and recover the
l. 4 p. 221 esteem and friendship of the highest order of
— 225. the state. Mr l'Abbé de Vertot, in his excel-
Liv. l. 1. lent book of the Revolutions of the Roman re-
6. 42—44. public, prepares the reader for this important
 regulation by very judicious remarks.

It will, perhaps, be thought strange, says he,
 that in a state governed by a king, assisted with
 a senate, the laws, ordinances, and result of all
 the deliberations, should always run in the peo-
 ple's name, without any mention of the prince
 on the throne. But it must be remembered,
 this generous people had reserved the best share
 in the government. No resolution was taken,
 whether for war or peace, but in their assemblies.
 These were called at that time *Comitia Curiata*,
 or *Assemblies by Curia*, because they were to con-
 sist only of the inhabitants of Rome, divided
 into thirty *Curia*. Here the kings were cho-
 sen, the magistrates and priests elected, laws
 made, and justice administered. The king,
 with consent of the senate, convened these as-
Decree of semblies, and appointed by a *Senatus-consultum*
the senate. the day they were to meet, and the affairs they
 were to debate. Another *Senatus-consultum* was
 required to confirm what was there decreed.
 The prince or chief magistrate presided in these
 assemblies, which were always preceded by au-
 spices and sacrifices, whereof the Patricians had
 the sole management.

But, however, as every thing was decided in
 these assemblies by a plurality of voices, and
 the suffrages given man by man, the Plebeians
 always out-voted the senate and Patricians;
 so that they usually formed the result of the
 deliberations

deliberations preferably to the senate and nobles. Servius Tullius, a prince entirely republican, notwithstanding his regal dignity, could not however bear that the government should often depend on the meanest of the populace, and therefore resolved to convey the whole authority to the nobility, where he hoped to find juster views and less prejudice.

The undertaking was attended with great difficulties. Tullius had to deal with a people of the whole world the haughtiest and most jealous of their rights: and to oblige them to part with any privilege, it was necessary to blind them with some greater advantage. The Romans in those days were taxed so much a head to the public treasury; and as originally the fortune of private persons was very near alike, they had been made liable to the same tax, which they continued to pay with the same equality, though in process of time some were found to have much greater estates than others (1). Servius represented in an assembly, that the inhabitants of Rome and their riches being considerably increased, by the great number of foreigners settled in the city, he did not think it reasonable that a poor citizen should contribute as much as a wealthier one to the public expences: that these contributions ought to be proportioned to every particular person's estate; but to know that exactly, it was necessary to oblige all the citizens, under the severest penalties, to give in a faithful account of their effects, which might serve for a rule to make such an assessment.

The people, who saw in this proposal only their own relief, received it with great applause,

(1) *Varro says, the taxes therefore called Tributes and being laid on the tribes, were Contribution.*

and the whole assembly unanimously gave the king power to settle the government in such manner as should seem the most agreeable to the public good. Pursuant to that resolution, Servius instituted the *Census*; which was nothing else but a list or survey of all the Roman citizens, wherein were comprized their age, effects, profession, name of their tribe and curia, with the number of their children and slaves. There were then in and about Rome, above eighty thousand citizens fit to bear arms. In this survey were included neither the women, nor the children, or young persons under seventeen years of age, nor the slaves.

Servius divided all these citizens into six *classes*, and made up each class of different *centuries*, which were not companies of a hundred men, as the word seems to denote, but contained more or less according to the distinction of the classes. Half the centuries of a class were composed of young citizens from seventeen to forty-five years of age; and half contained the older citizens from forty-six and upwards.

In the first class he put eighty centuries, containing none but senators, patricians, or persons noted for their riches; who were all to be worth at least a hundred thousand *asses* *, that is, 322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* sterling (1). These eighty companies of the first class were (as I said) divided into two orders, namely, forty of elderly persons, intended for the guard and defence of the city, and forty of younger men to go to

* *Halicarnassensis*, who reckons after the manner of the Greeks, counts 100 minæ at least for those of the first class, which answer to Livy's 100,000 asses. Ten asses made a drachma; consequent-

ly 100,000 asses made 10,000 drachmas, or 100 minæ. For the Attic mina was 100 drachmas.

(1) These computations are according to Arbutnot.

the wars. They had all alike arms offensive and defensive. The offensive were a javelin, a pike, and a sword; the defensive, a helmet, a cuirass, and cuisses, all of brass. Under the first class were also ranked all the cavalry divided into eighteen centuries composed of the principal and richest persons of the city (1).

The second class had but twenty centuries, consisting of those who were worth at least seventy-five thousand *asses*, or 242 *l.* 3 *s.* 9 *d.* sterling. They were armed in much the same manner as the citizens of the first class, except that they had no cuirass, and carried an oblong buckler, instead of an oval shield.

In the third class were also but twenty centuries, with an estate of fifty-thousand *asses*, or 161 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.* sterling. They had the same arms as the second class, except cuisses.

The fourth class had the same number of centuries as the second and third. The estate was to be twenty-five thousand *asses*, or 80 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d.* sterling. Their arms were a square buckler, a sword, and a pike.

In the fifth class were thirty centuries with effects to the value of twelve thousand five hundred *asses*, or 40 *l.* 7 *s.* 3 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ sterling. They were armed with slings and stones.

Four other centuries without any arms followed the troops, two of carpenters and smiths for making the engines of war, and two of trumpeters and blowers on the horn. The workmen belonged to the second, and the two others to the fourth class: which consequently had each twenty-two centuries.

(1) *Persons of the first rank, by reason of their pre-eminence, had the name of Classici; whence the phrase Classici au-*

thores, for the most approved writers. All others, of what class soever, were said to be intra Classem.

The sixth class had but one century, or was rather a confused multitude of the poorer citizens. They were called *Proletarii*, as being useful only by stocking the commonwealth with children, or *Exempti*, because they were exempted from going to war, and paying any tax.

These six classes contained one hundred ninety three centuries, commanded each by an officer noted for experience and bravery.

Livy and Dionysius Halicarnassensis differ in some circumstances of little moment, which affect not the nature and substance of this regulation, and therefore they are not taken notice of by me.

This distribution of the Roman people was, as we see, entirely military, and with a prospect chiefly to war. Nevertheless Servius made signal use of it in the civil administration of the government; wherein his great ability and profound policy cannot be sufficiently admired. He ordered that for the future, the people should assemble by centuries, when magistrates were to be elected, laws made, war declared, or when capital crimes, and such as concerned the whole state, were to be judged. The assembly was to be held without the city, in the field of Mars (1). The citizens were to come armed according to the distinction of their classes. It was the prerogative of the sovereign or chief magistrate to convene the *Comitia Centuriata*, as well as the *Curiata*; and all consultations were

(1) Campus Martius was a large field lying near the Tyber consecrated to Mars, where the public sports and exercises were performed, and several public *Comitia* or assemblies were held, and for that purpose were the Septa or Ovilia apartments raised in for the tribes or centuries to go in one by one to give their votes.

to be preceded by auspices, which gave great authority to the prince and patricians, who were invested with the principal offices of the priesthood. It was moreover agreed, that the votes should be taken by centuries, whereas before they were counted man by man, and that the ninety-eight centuries of the first class should give their votes first.

By this new regulation, full of admirable wisdom, things were so contrived by an artful mixture of burdens and advantages, that neither the poor nor the rich had any just cause to complain. It must needs have been so, since the people bore this alteration so many years without showing any sign of dislike or discontent.

For, indeed, on both sides, if there was any new burden, it was balanced by some great advantage. When troops were to be raised, each of the hundred ninety-three centuries, except the last, was obliged to furnish a certain number of soldiers, and a certain sum for the subsistence of the army. Now the richer sort, being fewest in number, and yet making more centuries than the rest who were less rich and more numerous, were obliged to serve almost without intermission, and to supply very large sums; whilst the inferior classes, much more numerous than the principal ones, and divided into fewer centuries, went to war but seldom, and in their turn, and paid very light taxes. For the same reason, those who had only from hand to mouth, and made the bulk of the people, as they do every where else, were exempted from service and tribute.

And here Servius's wise designs cannot be too much admired. Persuaded that men, in making war, have no stronger motive than their fortune, and readily expose themselves to any danger in
defence

defence of their estates, he believed those that had more interest than others in the gaining of a battle, not only ought in justice to be free of their money and persons, but also would serve the republic with more courage and zeal. At that time every one went to the wars at his own charge, and it was not yet the custom to maintain the soldiers out of the public treasure. What difference in a battle, between troops that hazard their all, and adventurers that have nothing to lose!

By what I have been saying, it appears, the poor were entirely eased, and the burdens and contributions fell solely on the rich, in proportion to their estate (*a*). But, on the other hand, the rich were amply recompensed, and the poor had much less power than before. In the early times, affairs of the greatest importance, especially the creation of the magistrates, the making or abrogating of a law, even peace and war, were decided by the *comitia curiata*, where the Plebeians, much more numerous, were masters of all the resolves. Servius, by the new regulation, artfully conveyed to the first class, composed of the great men of Rome, all the authority of the government: and without openly depriving the Plebeians of the right of suffrage, he found means by this method to render it of no effect (*b*).

For the whole nation consisting but of one hundred ninety-three centuries, and there being ninety-eight in the first class, if only ninety-seven were of the same opinion, that is, one more than half of the hundred ninety-three, the

(*a*) Hæc omnia in dites à
pauperibus inclinata onera.
Liv.

exclusus quisquam suffragio
videretur, & vis omnia penes
primores civitatis esset. *Liv.*

(*b*) Gradus facti, ut neque

business

business was determined ; and then the first class, composed, as I said, of the great men of Rome, formed alone the public decrees. If any votes were wanted, and some centuries of the first class dissented from the rest, the second class was called. But when these two classes agreed in opinion, or rather, when in these two classes, which together made a hundred and eighteen votes, there were ninety-seven of one mind, the plurality was formed, and it was needless to go on to the third. Thus the meaner people were without power, when the voices were taken by centuries ; whereas, when they were counted by *curiæ*, as the rich were confounded with the poor, the least Plebeian had as much power as the greatest senator.

Some alterations were in time made in the order established by Servius, but of no great importance, which shall be mentioned as occasion requires.

I must not forget a very useful law made by Servius (according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis), that upon every birth, a piece of money should be paid into the temple of *Juno Lucina* ; upon every death, into the temple of *Venus Libitina* ; upon taking the *Toga Virilis*, into the temple of the goddess *Juventus* *.

* *Youth.*

From that time the *comitia curiata*, or assemblies by *curiæ*, were held only for electing the *Flamines* (that is, the priests of Jupiter, Mars, and Romulus) and the *Curio Maximus* (1), with some other inferior magistrates, of which there will be occasion to speak in the sequel.

The custom of calling the *comitia curiata* was still retained for form-sake, when the military power called *imperium* was to be conferred

(1) *Or Superintendent of the Curiones.*

on those that by the suffrages of the centuries had been raised to the magistracy.

Servius, it is said, to compleat his work, and render the Romans entirely free, had resolved generously to resign the crown, and reduce the government to a pure commonwealth, under the regency of two annual magistrates, to be elected in a general assembly of the Roman people. His death, hastened by Tarquin's crime, prevented the execution of so heroic a design. After his death, was found in his memoirs, the plan drawn up at large, as I shall describe hereafter.

Servius having finished the survey of the Roman people, commanded all the citizens to assemble, under arms, in the field of Mars, every one in his class and century. Then he purified all the troops with a sacrifice of a sow, a sheep, and a bull, which, before they were sacrificed, were carried three times round the field. The sacrifice was called *solitaurilia*, or rather *suovetaurilia* (1), and the solemnity *lustrum*, as much as to say, *lustration*, *purification*: it was repeated every fifth year (2). In this *lustrum* (according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis) there were eighty-four thousand, but according to Livy eighty thousand, free citizens. This number ought not to appear surprising. There were above forty thousand at Romulus's death, and the union of the Albans with the Romans doubled the number. After him all the kings of Rome, pursuing his plan, had greatly increased the citizens by the incorporation of their neighbours.

(1) From *sus*, a sow, *ovis*, a sheep, and *taurus*, a bull.

(2) Hence *Lustrum* (à *lucendo*, from paying, clearing)

came to signify the space of five years. The ceremony of performing this expiatory sacrifice was called *Lustrum condere*.

Servius,

Servius, full of the same views, resolved farther to strengthen the republick, by admitting, some way or other, among the citizens the slaves that were made free. Of slaves there were two sorts: Prisoners of war (with which slavery began) called *Mancipia* (1), and children whose parents, or mothers only, were slaves. The king then thought of admitting them into the number of citizens: his own former state of slavery inspired him with pity for men who otherwise might not want merit, and could be reproached only for their unhappy birth, or for being made prisoners of war. This project met at first with great opposition, and was highly blamed, especially by the Patricians, who thought it dishonourable thus to confound slaves with the citizens. Servius in an assembly laboured to justify his intention, expressing himself with great mildness in the following manner. “ He was surprized that what he meant “ to do for the slaves should be blamed, and “ that any one should desire to perpetuate between liberty and slavery a distinction not “ made by nature, but entirely owing to the “ caprice of chance. He represented how much “ the hopes of recovering or acquiring liberty “ would attach slaves to the service of their “ masters. He insisted chiefly on the benefit “ and advantages that would accrue to the republick by the law he intended, and showed “ that nothing was more proper for a city “ which was forming great designs, and aspiring to become one day mistress of the world, “ than an increase of inhabitants: by that means “ she would be able to support herself with her

Tullius introduces the custom of affranchising slaves.
Dionys. l. 4 p. 226.

(1) *As much as to say, manu capti, taken by the hand of the enemy.*

“ own forces against the most formidable armies;
 “ and not want foreign troops, which were the
 “ destruction of states. Finally, it was that
 “ reason which led the kings his predecessors to
 “ receive into citizenship all the strangers that
 “ offered to settle at Rome.” This speech had
 the desired effect, and the law was unanimously
 received.

By the law, masters were allowed to affranchise their slaves, that is, give them their freedom, and admit them among the citizens. It sufficed for that purpose, that the slaves whom their masters intended to make free, got their name to be writ in the public register, and gave in an estimate of their effects, if they had any. This was the first way among the Romans, of granting freedom to the slaves: *Censu, by the roll*. There were afterwards two other ways.

Liv. l. 2. The second method of affranchising a slave
 c. 5. was *vindictâ, by the rod*. It was introduced the year after the expulsion of the kings, by Valerius Publicola, when he rewarded a slave for discovering the conspiracy of the young Roman lords to restore the Tarquins: the slave was called *Vindicius*, and from his name the ceremony is thought to be termed *Vindicta*. The Prætor (for to him the office afterwards belonged) gently struck the slave on the head with a rod (1),

(1) *The slave was brought before the Prætor by his master, who, laying his hand on the slave's head, said, Hunc hominem liberum esse volo; è manu emittere (Hence the ceremony was called manumission). Then the Prætor laying the rod called Vindicta on his head, said, Dico eum liberum esse more Quiritum. Af-*

ter that, the Licitor, taking the rod out of the Prætor's hand, struck the slave several blows on the head, face, and back; that done, nothing remained but pileo donari, to receive the cap in token of liberty, and to have his name entered in the roll of freemen, with the reason of his obtaining that favour.

and

and that moment he became free and his own master, according to the poet ;

Vindictâ postquam meus à prætore recessi,
Cur mihi non liceat, jussit quodcunque vo-
luntas ? Pers. Sat. v.

*Since with his rod the prætor made me free,
May I not live without controul and awe?*

It is said, he added another ceremony, which was to give the slave a box on the ear, and turn him round (a):

— — — — Una Quiritem
Vertigo facit. — — — — Pers.

Slaves are made citizens by turning round. Dryd.

Multo majoris alapæ mecum veneunt.
Phæd. II. 5.

A box on the ear (i. e. freedom) is purchased of me at a much dearer rate.

The third way of affranchising slaves was by *testament*. All these three ways are expressed in a passage of Cicero ; *Si neque censu, neque* In Topic. *vindicta, neque testamento liber, &c.*

The slaves thus freed were called *liberti* or *libertini*. The word *libertus* had reference to the patron ; as *libertus Ciceronis, libertus Cæsaris*. The word *libertinus* expressed the state or condition ; *homo libertinus, a freed-man*. Some authors think the *libertini* were the children of the *liberti* ; but the other opinion seems most probable.

Though by their freedom they became Roman citizens, they were not admitted like the *in-*

(a) Quos manumittebant, atque ita de manu misisse.
alapa percussos circumegisse, *Isidor. l. 9.*

genui or free-born, either among the knights, or the senators: but only to the common privileges of the people. Accordingly they were placed in the city-tribes, which, as I observed, were the least considered. The freed-men were uneasy to see themselves confined there, and so managed that they over-ran the country-tribes; where they were introduced by Appius Claudius, the blind-man, in his censorship. But that irregularity which threw disorder and confusion into the assemblies of the people, by giving power to the populace thus dispersed through all the tribes, was quickly restrained by Q. Fabius Rullus; and that service was deemed so important to the state, that it gained him the surname of *Maximus*, which his victories could not do. We find also in the year of Rome 532, the same thing revived by the censors Paulus Æmilius and Flaminius; which shows Q. Fabius's regulation could not stand long against the restless struggles of the populace. About fifty years after, the old regulations were re-established, and T. Sempronius Gracchus the censor, included all the freed-men in the esquiline tribe: an act that merited the praises of Cicero, and to which that orator ascribes the safety of the state.

As to military service, a great difference was also made between the freed-men and antient citizens. The sea-service was less esteemed among the Romans than the land: and for the marine it was that the freed-men were usually listed. Upon extraordinary occasions, they were also employed in the land-forces, as appears in several places of Livy. But how rarely this was done, is evident from a passage in the epitome of the LXXIVth book at the time of the social war, where it is said, the freed-men then first began

began to serve in the armies: *Libertini tunc primum militare ceperunt*. From that time, very probably, the thing became usual and customary.

The freed-men, out of gratitude for so great a benefit as liberty, thought it a duty as well as an honour to bear the name of their benefactors. And therefore they took the two first names of their patron, to which they added their own for surname (1). We know two freed-men of Cicero, one called *Marcus Tullius Tiro*, and the other *Marcus Tullius Laurea*.

In this custom, established by Servius, of admitting freed-men among the citizens, appears a character of goodness, humanity, and equity, by which the Romans were always distinguished; and withal, a great stock of wisdom and policy which redounds to that prince's honour. Not to mention the multitude of citizens given by this law to the republic, with how many excellent subjects was the state enriched by it? Though I could give no other instance but Terence, does not Rome glory in the works of that African slave, by her made a Roman?

Servius, after these domestic regulations, ever possessed with great but withal pacific designs, thought of making Rome the centre and metropolis of Latium, and the common bond of union between her and the Latines. The Latine nations had by force of arms been subdued more than once: he undertook to bind them to Rome

Tullius makes a particular allusion between the Romans and the Latines.

(1) The Ingenui or free-born had three names; 1. Præ-nomen, answering to our Christian name. 2. Nomen, answering to the Grecian patronymus. 3. Cognomen, to distinguish families. The freed-

men took the Prænomen and Nomen of their patron, and prefixed them to their own. The Prænomen was not given 'till the assuming the toga virilis, or manly gown.

with the cords of religion and friendship. To that end, he had long since endeavoured to gain the amity and esteem of the Latine great men, by frequently having them with him, by treating them kindly and civilly, and showing them great respect. In their private conversations he often represented to them, that peace and concord were the greatest improvers of the weakest states, whilst by discord the most powerful monarchies were brought to destruction. He instanced in Amphiçtyon, who established in Greece a council or assembly, wherein the whole nation in conjunction laboured unanimously to preserve between all the cities a strict union, and to aid one another against the common enemy. He spoke to them likewise of the Ionians and Dorians, who at the common charge built temples, to which they all repaired on certain days with their wives and children. There they offered together sacrifices and oblations to the gods, and attended their traffic and commerce. The festival ended, wherein things were transacted with all the signs of the most cordial friendship, if there were any disputes between the cities, or causes of complaint, the differences were amicably determined by arbiters appointed on purpose, whose sentence was decisive. Servius exhorted the Latines to do the same. The great men readily came into his project, and were followed by their respective cities. Accordingly the Latines joined with the Romans in building at the common expence a temple to Diana on mount Aventine, where the people of each city met every year to offer sacrifices, exercise commerce, and decide by arbitration private differences. This was, in the Latines, a tacit confession that Rome was their capital, which

which had been before the occasion of so many wars (a). The course of the history will show how conducive this alliance with the Latines was to the grandeur of Rome, which in some measure doubled her strength, and what a blessing to a state is an able prince, truly capable of governing, who has great views, and is attentive to all the duties of royalty.

The treaty then concluded by Servius with the Latines, was engraven on a brazen pillar, which, in the time of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, was still to be seen in the temple of Diana. It was Latin, but inscribed in Greek letters, such as were anciently used in Greece: which, says that historian, is no slender proof that the founders of Rome were originally Grecians. The likeness between the Latin and the old Grecian letters is confirmed by a passage in Pliny (b).

Servius thought to crown all his great actions with resigning the royalty, and making Rome a commonwealth; and had already described in a memoir the whole model of the new government, when a death, which may be called untimely, though he was of a great age, prevented the execution of so noble a design. In relating the circumstances of his tragical end, I must look back a little.

Servius had two daughters by Tarquinia, daughter of Tarquinius Priscus. When they were marriageable, he gave them to their cousin-germans, that prince's two grandsons. His sons-in-law met each in their spouses dispositions entirely opposite to their genius and temper.

(a) Ea erat confessio, caput rerum Romam esse; de quo toties armis certatum fuerat. *Liv.*

(b) Veteres Græcas fuisse

easdem penè quæ nunc sunt Latinæ, indico erit Delphica tabula antiqui æris, quæ est hodie in Palatio, &c.

Plin. l. 7. c. 58.

Lucius, the elder brother, a man daring, haughty, and cruel, had a wife of a meek, reasonable spirit, full of tenderness and respect for her father. Aruns, the younger brother, much more humane and tractable, found in young Tullia one of your bold enterprizing women, capable of the blackest deeds. Fortune, says Livy (a), seems to have avoided the conjunction of two violent tempers to prolong Servius's reign, and enable him to settle the government of Rome on firm and lasting foundations.

Young Tullia, as I said, violent and impetuous, perceiving neither ambition nor daringness in her husband, bore with uneasiness his peaceable temper, by her called indolence and cowardice. Inclined entirely to the other Tarquin, she ceased not to praise, admire, extol him, as a man of spirit, as a prince worthy his birth. She spoke with contempt of her sister, for so ill seconding such a husband. Likeness of temper and inclinations quickly united L. Tarquin and young Tullia (b). In the private conversations which she often procured with her brother-in-law, she used the most injurious and contumelious language, to inspire him with a contempt for her husband and sister. She said, "It would
 " have been much better for them both to re-
 " main unmarried, than to be joined to tem-
 " pers contrary to their own, and forced by the
 " stupidity of others shamefully to languish
 " away their time. If the gods had given her
 " the husband she deserved, she would soon
 " behold in her family the crown she saw in

• (a) Forte ita inciderat, ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio jungerentur; fortunâ credo populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servii regnum es-

set, constituîque civitatis mores possent. *Liv.*

(b) Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut ferè sit malum malo aptissimum. *Liv.*

“ her

“ her father’s.” It was not hard to infuse her sentiments into the prince, and bend him to her designs. They immediately plotted the death, the one of her husband, the other of his wife; and after the execution of the double murder, they joined together their fortune and furious tempers in marriage, which Servius dared not oppose, though he dreaded the fatal consequences of it.

As they now saw no other obstacle to their ambition but Servius’s life, the thirst of dominion quickly carried them from their first crime to another still more horrible; that fury, which Tarquin had always by his side, not letting him rest night or day, for fear of losing the fruit of her first parricides. What words did she not use? “ She had indeed found a man that was
 “ called her husband, and with whom she
 “ might live in a private and dishonourable servitude; not a prince who thought himself
 “ worthy a throne, who remembered he was
 “ grandson to king Tarquin, and chose rather
 “ to seize the scepter than wait for it. *If you
 “ are the man I imagine myself married to, I call
 “ you my husband, my lord, and my king. But
 “ if not, my condition is so far altered for the
 “ worse, as I find here wickedness joined to cowardice. Dare only, and you will meet no obstacle. You need not, like your grandfather,
 “ cross the seas, or travel to Rome from Corinth
 “ or Tarquinii to acquire with difficulty a foreign
 “ kingdom. Your household gods, the image of
 “ your grandfather, the palace you are in, the
 “ throne you daily behold, the name of Tarquin,
 “ all create and salute you king. If you want
 “ courage for these things, why do you still disappoint the city? why do you appear like a prince
 “ that expects to reign? Be gone from hence to*

“*Tarquinius or Corinth: return back to your first
 “original, more like your brother than your grand-
 “father (a).”*

With such language she incessantly spurred him on, and herself too, by comparing herself to Tanaquil, who, though a stranger in Rome, had twice together disposed of the scepter, first to her husband, then to her son-in-law; whilst she, sprung from royal blood, could do nothing towards giving or taking away the crown.

Tarquin, encouraged by the speeches of this domestic fury, throws off all restraint, and resolvedly pursues the wicked design. He labours to gain the senators, especially of the new creation. He reminds them of what his grandfather had done for them, and urges them to show their gratitude to him. He engages the youth to him by presents, and daily increases his party by his affability, and by promising wonders of himself, whilst he loads the king with the blackest aspersions.

When he thought the proper hour was come to discover his intention, surrounded with a guard he abruptly enters the Forum. Fear seizing all, he advances to the senate-house, seats himself on the throne, and orders the senators to be convened in king Tarquin’s name. They instantly assemble, some prepared beforehand,

(a) Si tu is es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, & virom & regem appello: sin minùs, eo nunc pejus mutata est res, quòd isthic cum ignavia est scelus. Quin accingeris? Non tibi ab Corintho, nec ab Tarquinis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri necesse est. Dii te penates, patriique, & patris imago, & domus regia,

& in domo regale solium, & nomen Tarquinium creat vocatque regem. Aut si ad hæc parum est animi, quid frustra ris civitatem? quid te ut regium juvenem conspici finis? facesse hinc Tarquinius, aut Corinthum. Devolvere retro ad stirpem, fratri similior quàm patri. Liv.

others

others for fear their absence should be deemed a crime ; the greatest part surprised and troubled at so strange and unexpected an event, and believing Servius undone. Then Tarquin begins with saying, “ Servius, a slave, and the son of
“ a slave, after the unworthy death of his grand-
“ father, had seized the kingdom by the prac-
“ tices of a woman, without the customary in-
“ terregnum, without the suffrages of the peo-
“ ple, or the consent of the senate. Thus
“ born, thus created king, he had been a pro-
“ tector of those that like himself were sprung
“ from the dregs of the people, and out of ha-
“ tred to a noble extraction, he had dispossessed
“ the patricians of their lands, to give them to
“ persons of the meanest condition. The bur-
“ dens and taxes which before were equally di-
“ vided, were by him thrown upon the nobles
“ alone. He had established the census for no
“ other end but to expose to envy the fortune
“ of the rich, and to have wherewithal to gra-
“ tify his creatures, that is, the meanest and
“ most beggarly part of the city.”

Servius, upon information of what passed in the senate, comes in whilst Tarquin was thus haranguing : and with a loud voice cries out the moment he sees him on the throne, *What ! Tarquin, dare you, while I am alive, to call the senate, and sit in my throne ?* Tarquin fiercely replied, “ He sate in his grandfather’s seat, to
“ which a grandson had more right than a
“ slave : Servius had too long insulted his bet-
“ ters, and abused their patience.” Their fa-
vourers, on both sides, made a great noise, the people at the same time rushed into the senate, and it appeared the quarrel was to be decided by force.

Then

Then Tarquin, seeing a necessity of coming to extremities, as he was young and vigorous, takes the old man by the waste, carries him out of the assembly, and throws him down the steps into the Forum; then returns into the senate. Servius, all over bruised, and more dead than alive, was led towards his palace by a few officers that had not deserted him out of fear. He had scarce reached the street called *Vicus Cyprius* (1), when he was overtaken and murdered by persons sent after him by Tarquin. It is believed, and with great probability, that the deed was done by Tullia's advice. It is certain, she hastily came forth at the first noise, and crossing the Forum in her chariot, without any regard to the decencies of her sex, or the manners of the time, drove to the senate, called out her husband, and first saluted him king. He ordered her immediately to withdraw out of the tumult. When in her return, she came to the end of the Cyprian street, the coachman, turning to the left to go up the esquiline hill, stopped short struck with horror, and showed his mistress Servius's body covered with blood. The sight served only to exasperate and harden Tullia. The furies, avengers of her sister and husband (says Livy) quite bereaved her at that instant of her reason: so that forgetting, not only the sentiments of nature, but even of humanity, she ordered the chariot to be driven over her father's body, which occasioned the street to be called *vicus sceleratus*, (*the street of wickedness*). She entered her house as in triumph, sure of reigning for the future, and rejoicing within herself for the happy success of her vil-

(1) Cyprius, says Varro, signifies, in the old Sabine language, good or happy.

lanies. So many horrors would seem incredible if the effects of ambition were not known.

Servius Tullius reigned forty years. Had the best prince in the world been his successor, he would have found it difficult to equal his reputation, so mild and gentle had his reign been. Tarquin carried his inhumanity so far as to deny him the funeral solemnities of a king. His body was by his widow Tarquinia conveyed in the night to his tomb with a few friends only ; and, as if she had survived her husband but to pay him these last duties, she died presently after.

CHAP. VII.

The REIGN of TARQUINIUS
SUPERBUS.

Tarquin governs tyrannically. He makes the Latines his friends: destroys Turnus Herdonius, who opposes his designs: concludes a treaty with the Latines: erects a temple to Jupiter Latialis. His war with the Sabines: he takes the city of Gabii by stratagem. Tarquin, during peace, builds the capitol. The Sibyl's books. Brutus attends two of his sons to Delphos. Character of Brutus. Siege of Ardea. Fatal death of Lucretia, which occasions the expulsion of the kings. State of Rome.

Tarquin governs tyrannically
A. R. 220
Ant. C
532.
Dionys.
l. 4. p. 244
— 246
Liv. l. 1.
c. 45.

TARQUIN ascended the throne, without the observance of any of the laws which 'till then had been practised: nor was the royalty conferred on him either by people or senate. His after-conduct was agreeable to such beginnings, and justly procured him the surname of *Superbus, the Proud*; which word, in the Latin tongue joins the idea of cruelty to that of pride.

At his very accession to empire, he began to affect an air of haughtiness and pride, not only to the people, but the nobles themselves who had promoted his advancement. He entirely altered the discipline of the kings his predecessors: subverted the wisest regulations, and trampling upon the laws of equity, pursued in all his actions the methods of tyrannical and arbitrary power. He appointed a guard of the most resolute men he could find, whether Romans or foreigners,
and

and armed them with swords and lances. Their business was to stand centry by night round the palace, to attend him by day wherever he went, and continually watch for his safety. He seldom came abroad, and never at regular hours. He held his councils in private with his most trusty friends, rarely in public, nor did he consult the senate on any affair. His guards suffered no man to approach him that was not sent for; and they that were admitted to his audience, far from being favourably received, met with severe looks and threatening language, capable of breeding terror; and happy was that man, whose tear was his only punishment.

When Tarquin thought his power firmly established, he suborned the most profligate of his creatures to inform against such eminent citizens as he had a mind to destroy. He began with those that he knew were not in his interest, and had shown indignation at Servius's death. He proceeded to such as disliked the new government: then he attacked the wealthiest persons of Rome; for, under such a prince, riches become a crime. Informations were brought against those he wanted to dispatch, as guilty of various offences, and chiefly for attempts upon his person. Upon general accusations, without any manner of proof, he condemned some to death, and others to banishment. He seized all their estates, with a small part of which he rewarded the informers. The dread of these unjust prosecutions drove from Rome a great number of the principal citizens. Some were put to death without any noise, others carried by force from their houses: some seized in the country and cruelly murdered, whose bodies could not be found after their death. By these unjust and cruel proceedings he destroyed the best part
of

of the senate, and filled not the vacancies, to render that body the more contemptible by the smallness of their number, and prevent their complaints of not being consulted. For war, peace, treaties, alliances, Tarquin transacted all by himself, without the advice either of people or senate.

He prohibited by an edict, both in town and country, all the assemblies, wherein the same curia or neighbouring villages used to meet for the celebration of festivals and sacrifices, lest the citizens thus assembled should form some design against his person and government. Moreover, he had spies in every place, who crept into all companies and entertainments, to be witnesses of what had passed, and who frequently began first to speak ill of the king, for the better discovering the sentiments of others. They failed not instantly to make their report to the tyrant; and whoever had let fall the least word against the present state of affairs, was infailibly condemned to the severest punishments.

*Tarquin
makes the
Latines
his friends.*
Dionys.

14. p. 246.

—240.

Liv. l. 1.

c. 49—52

How well settled soever Tarquin's authority might be, he reflected, that a power established by force of arms alone, in contempt of the most sacred laws, was liable to strange revolutions, if it was not strengthened with a foreign support against the domestic discontents and commotions. To that end, he courted the alliance of one of the principal Latine nobles, Octavius Mamilius, to whom he married his daughter. Mamilius resided at Tusculum, where his high birth, deduced by him from Telegonus, son of Ulysses and Circe, gave him the first rank. He was also reckoned an able warrior and experienced general. This alliance procured him the amity of all the powerful and considerable persons among the Latines.

Depending

Depending therefore upon a strong assistance *He destroys*
 from thence, he thought of a war with the Sa- *Turnus*
 bins, who had thrown off the yoke after Ser- *Herdonius.*
 vius's death. To that end he appointed a meet-
 ing of the Latine cities at Terentina. All the
 deputies repaired thither very early on the day
 fixed by himself. Tarquin made them wait 'till
 almost sun-set. Most of the deputies were very
 angry at his delay. But especially Turnus Her-
 donius, deputy of Aricia, powerful for his riches
 and friends, fiercely inveighed against Tarquin,
 of whose arrogance and pride he gave several
 instances in his conduct, and particularly his
 contempt, in not coming to the assembly which
 was called by himself. Whilst he was speaking,
 Tarquin arrived. A profound silence ensued,
 and all the deputies rose up to salute him. The
 king began with making excuse for coming so
 late, alledging he was detained by an arbitration
 between a father and son. *Such an arbitration*
 (replies Turnus) *is of all others the shortest: the*
son need only be told, unless he obeys his father,
mischief will befall him. Upon saying these
 words, Turnus withdrew, and it being now late,
 the assembly was put off to next day.

Tarquin was not of a temper patiently to bear
 the affront he had received. He presently pro-
 jects a revenge which none but himself would
 have thought of. He bribes with money Tur-
 nus's servants that brought his baggage; and
 engages them to suffer arms to be conveyed in
 the night to their master's lodgings, and con-
 cealed among the baggage. The thing was
 done speedily. and without noise.

On the morrow, before day, Tarquin sends
 for the deputies upon an urgent affair of
 the utmost importance. He tells them, " His
 " coming

“ coming yesterday so late to the assembly was
“ by a particular providence of the gods, and
“ for the safety of them all. Turnus had plot-
“ ted all their deaths to become sole master of
“ the Latines; and would have executed his
“ project the day before, if the person he chief-
“ ly aimed at had not delayed his coming.
“ His invectives against him were owing to the
“ vexation of being disappointed: but his
“ wicked design was only deferred; he did not
“ question but he was to come that morning to
“ the assembly with a band of armed conspira-
“ tors: for he had received intelligence that a
“ great quantity of arms had been conveyed to
“ his house. It was easy as well as important
“ to know the truth, and therefore desired them
“ to accompany him to Turnus’s lodgings.”

Turnus’s violent temper, his yesterday’s speech, and Tarquin’s coming too late, which might indeed have caused the project to be delayed, rendered the thing not improbable. They go therefore with an inclination to believe the fact, but determined however not to give credit without the testimony of their own eyes, and the sight and touch of the swords. At their coming to the house, the guards surrounded Turnus, waked by the noise. Every corner is searched, and the arms are produced. The truth of the conspiracy is no longer doubted. The assembly is immediately called, and Turnus brought thither bound hand and foot. The sight of the arms, which were exposed to view in the middle of the room, raised such indignation, that without hearing the accused, the deputies, terrified, and still trembling for fear of their supposed danger, condemned him to die. He was immediately executed, by being thrown into
the

the head of the Ferentine spring, and drowned under a hurdle covered with stones (1).

A moment's reflection and examination in cool blood, would have quickly dispelled this chimerical plot, and shown the calumny in it's true colours, by a thousand gross contradictions which must have been visible to persons of the least penetration. But passion, blind and deaf, neither sees nor hears any thing, and shuts the door against reason and truth.

Tarquin was thanked in full assembly for the important service done by him to the whole Latine nation, in delivering the heads of the cities from so imminent danger, and in reward of his false accusation, acknowledged sovereign of the whole country, on the same terms and with the same honours as his grandfather Tarquin had been before him.

Tarquin by this resolution, peaceable possessor of the empire of the Latines, sent to the Volsci and Hernici to enter into his alliance and friendship. Of all the Volsci, only the Ecetrans and Antiates accepted his offers: the Hernici were more compliable, and all came into the league.

For the strengthening of these new alliances, Tarquin proposed erecting a temple common to the Romans, Latines, and Hernici, that in a yearly meeting of all in the same place, they might sacrifice and feast together, and treat of their common affairs. Tarquin's project was universally approved, and a hill which commands Alba, and lies almost in the center of Latium, was chosen for the general meeting.

(1) Ut indicta causa, novo genere lethi, and caput aquæ Ferentinæ, crate superne in-

jecta, saxisque congestis mergeretur. Liv. l. 1. c. 51.

In that place, where Jupiter was afterwards worshipped by the name of *Latialis*, Tarquin ordered sacrifices to be offered in the name of the Romans and all the Latine cities, fairs to be kept, and feasts to be made, for the preservation of union and commerce between all these nations. People from forty-seven different cities repaired to these annual feasts, which were ever after very punctually celebrated, and were called *Feriæ Latinæ*.

It is observable, the consuls never took the field, nor went into the provinces, before they had visited the temple of Jupiter Latialis, and solemnized the *Feriæ Latinæ*, which they appointed themselves at what time they pleased.

Dionys.

l. 4. p. 250

—252.

Liv. l. 1.

c. 53.

Tarquin

makes war

with the

Sabines

and Volsci.

If Tarquin was an unjust king in peace, he was not in like manner an ill general in war (*a*): but in that respect would have been as famous as the kings his predecessors, had not his other faults eclipsed the lustre of his martial virtues and exploits. More secure than ever of his authority, after the renewal of the treaties with the Latine cities, he resolved to march against the Sabines, and particularly the Volsci, who had refused to enter into the league accepted by the Latines, and had ravaged the Roman territory. He gave the Volsci battle on their borders, slew great numbers of their men, put the rest to flight, and forced them into Sueffa-Pometia, one of their best cities. He besieged it in form, and after a long and brave resistance took it by storm. Tarquin, master of the city, put all to the sword that were found in arms. The booty was considerable, a tenth part of which he reserved for building the capitol.

(*a*) Nec, injustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit. Quum ea arte æquasset su-

periores reges, ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset. Liv.

He

He met with greater difficulty in taking Ga-^{Tarquin} bii, a Latine city, and was at last obliged to^{takes Ga-} raise the siege. Gabii stood about a hundred^{bii by stra-} stadia (or furlongs) from Rome, in the road to^{tagem.} Præneste. He did not however despair of ta-^{Dionys.} king it, and only used stratagem instead of^{l. 4. p. 222} force, which had been so unsuccessful. Sextus,^{—257.} the eldest of his three sons *, with his father's^{Liv. l. 1.} consent fled to Gabii, complaining of Tarquin's^{c. 53—58.} insupportable cruelty. He lamented his misfortune in terms capable of moving the hardest heart. He told them, “ Being in danger every moment of losing his life by the hands of his father, he had with difficulty escaped from his fury, and was come to them for refuge. If they refused to receive him, he would go from city to city ’till he found those that would defend children against the cruelty of fathers. And perhaps they that afforded him protection would have no cause to repent it.” The Gabians looked upon his coming as a particular providence, and gave him an extraordinary reception. He was loaded with honours, and admitted into all their councils. When any other matter was under debate, he readily submitted to the opinion of the Gabians, as better acquainted with the affairs of their country than a foreigner, like him ; but as for the war with the Romans, as he perfectly knew the strength of the two nations, and how his father was hated and detested by the Romans, he concealed not his belief that he could speak on that subject more knowingly than others. And indeed, he drew into his sentiment the principal Gabians. War with the Romans was resolved. He was

* He was the youngest according to Livy. *Minimus ex tribus erat.* Lib. 1. c. 53.

himself put at the head of a strong party, sent out to plunder the lands of the enemies, and always returned with a considerable booty. He so gained the confidence of the Gabians, that he was chosen their general. Under his conduct they had always the advantage in their engagements with the Romans. These good successes rendered him almost as absolute at Gabii as Tarquin was at Rome.

Sextus, perceiving the hour come of reaping the fruit of his impostures, sent, unknown to the Gabians, a man to his father, to tell him his situation, and to know his commands. Tarquin, unwilling to trust the messenger with any verbal answer to his son, leads him into the garden, where grew a great many poppies. There, walking in a grave and thoughtful posture, he amuses himself with striking off the heads of the highest poppies: and having taken several turns, sends back the messenger with no other answer *. Sextus easily guessed his father's meaning. He puts to death on various pretences the persons of the greatest credit at Gabii, and become master by the cruel dexterity of striking off heads, betrays the city at last to the Romans.

The Gabians expected the severest and most inhuman treatment. They were agreeably deceived. Tarquin neither executed nor banished a single person. He deprived no man of his estate or dignity. He seemed to forget the character of tyrant to assume that of king, and assembling the Gabians, told them he would restore them their estates and their city. He acted

* *Thrasylbulus of Miletium Corinth, and much after the bad formerly given the same same manner. advice to Periander tyrant of*

thus for the farther securing the empire of Rome by their means, persuaded that the fidelity of these conquered people, whom he treated with so much humanity, would for the future be his strongest support, and that full of gratitude they would uphold him and his children on the throne. Had he treated the Romans in that manner, he would have had no occasion for a foreign aid against his own subjects. But he could not remember, that the strongest bulwark of the throne is the love of the people (*a*).

That the Gabians might have nothing to fear for the future, and might consider as sure and lasting the favour he had granted them, he wrote with his own hand the terms on which he received them into his protection and friendship, confirmed from that time the treaty of alliance by a solemn oath on the victims that were sacrificed. We have at this day (says Dionysius Halicarnassensis) Tarquin's treaty with the Gabians. It is to be seen in the temple of *Jupiter Fidius* (called by the Romans *Sanctus* *), on a wooden shield covered with the hide of an ox sacrificed on that occasion. The articles of the treaty, written in old characters on the hide, are still legible. This done, he makes his eldest son Sextus king of Gabii, and returns with his forces to Rome. He afterwards advanced in like manner two other sons, Aruns over *Circæum*, and Titus over *Signia*.

Tarquin, freed, at least in part, from the troubles of war, turned his thoughts to the works left unfinished by his grandfather. He undertook to carry to the Tyber the subterraneous

Tarquin's important works at Rome.
Dionys. p. 246.

(a) [Regi] unum est inexpugnabile munimentum, amor civium. *Sen de clem. l. 1. c. 19.*

* According to others, Sanctus, or Sanguis. Liv. c. 55.

passages for conveyance of the water and filth of the city, which were but just begun, and surrounded with porticoes, for a shelter to the spectators, the amphitheatre raised by Tarquinius Priscus: works, that the magnificence of Augustus's age (says Livy) (*a*) could hardly equal. The meaner sort of people were great sufferers by them, for Tarquin, as covetous as cruel, paid them very poorly, and treated them harshly. Particularly the persons employed in digging the subterraneous canals endured a great deal, and caught mortal distempers, caused by the contagious stink of the muddy waters.

Tarquin
sets about
the capit. l.
Dionys
l. 4. p. 257
—259.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 55.

His principal and most material work was building the temple of Jupiter, pursuant to his grandfather's vow. Tarquin the Elder, in his last battle with the Sabines, promised temples to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, if by their aid he obtained the victory. Believing he was heard, he had, with immense labour, filled up the steep top of the Tarpeian hill, and levelled the ground on which he intended to build. But death put a stop to his works. Tarquin, who had reserved for raising these edifices the tenths of the spoils of Sueffa Pometia, sent for a great number of workmen from Hetruria, to begin the undertaking. He was also obliged afterwards to employ the citizens, and though their labour was by it greatly increased, they complained not, pleased with the honour of building the temples of the gods with their own hands (*b*). This religious sentiment is noble in Heathens, and should make us blush.

(*a*) Quibus quibus operibus
vix nova hæc magnificentia
quicquam adæquare potuit.

(*b*) Qui cum haud parvus

& ipse militiæ adderetur la-
bor, minus tamen plebs gra-
vabatur, se templa deum ex-
ædificare manibus suis.

The historians have adorned the foundation of this temple with many prodigies, all portending the future grandeur of the Roman empire. It was doubted in what part of the hill the foundations should be digged, because there were several gods which had altars on the same hill, and which were to be removed to make room for the new edifice. The augurs resolved to consult each deity one after another, and not touch their altars before they had given their consent. The consulted gods agreed that their altars might be removed elsewhere, except the god Terminus and the goddess of Youth, who could not be prevailed with by the prayers of the augurs, and refused to give place. The augurs thence conjectured that the bounds of the city and empire should stand for ever, and Rome always flourish with youth and vigour. The two deities were inclosed within the temple. Dionysius Halicarnassensis places this event under Tarquin the Elder, and Livy under Tarquin the Proud.

Whilst the foundations of this stately edifice were laying, another strange prodigy appeared. Very deep in the earth was found a man's head, as fresh as if it had been just cut off, and dyed with blood of a lively red colour. Tarquin, surprized at this accident, ordered a cessation of work, and the soothsayers to be advised with. The most skilful of them (he was an Etrurian) after consulting the augurs, returned this answer to the deputies: *O Romans, tell your fellow-citizens, it is the will of the fates, that the place where a head has been found, shall one day be the Capitol of Italy.* From that time the hill, called first *the Saturnian*, then *the Tarpeian*, was named *the Capitol*, from the Latin word *caput*, signifying *head*.

Tarquin, animated with fresh zeal by this answer, resumed the work, and forwarded it considerably: but he could not entirely finish it, because of his expulsion from Rome at the time he was about to bring it to perfection. The temple was not compleated 'till the third year of the consular government. It was built on the top of the hill, in length two hundred feet, with almost the same breadth. It may be judged of (says Dionysius Halicarnassensis) by the temple raised in the days of our fathers on the foundations of the old one, which was consumed by fire, and from which it differs only in the riches and magnificence of it's ornaments. Though the building was chiefly dedicated to Jupiter, it contained, however, two other temples or chapels under the same roof. One of these chapels was sacred to Juno, the other to Minerva: in the middle stood Jupiter's. The front of the capitol (says Dionysius Halicarnassensis, speaking of that which was rebuilt) looks to the South, and faces the Forum. A peristyle runs quite round. In the front are three rows of pillars: the sides have but two. One hundred very large steps, at a considerable distance from one another, lead up to the temple [from the Forum].

In reflecting on so stately an edifice as was Tarquin's capitol, it is astonishing to see such magnificence and taste for architecture, in a city not very antient, and generally involved in wars. To judge of the grandeur of Rome by her projects and undertakings, she seems to have thought herself from that time destined to become the metropolis and mistress of the world. And, indeed, it will appear by a close examination of her proceedings and policy, as well in war as in peace, that every thing seemed to tend to that end,

end, not certainly by a knowledge of futurity, (for whence should she have it?) but by a sort of instinct and secret presage, or rather, to speak more justly, by a superior providence, infused into her without her perception by the Supreme Arbiter of states and empires, who, for the execution of his particular designs, directed all her steps, and caused her to take on every occasion the most proper means for establishing and increasing her power.

It is observable, all the Heathen historians generally ascribe the greatness and power of the Romans to a divine protection, declared in their favour after an extraordinary and singular manner. Is it natural, indeed, that seven kings successively, of different countries and families, and often of contrary tempers, should steddily follow the same political views, and the same principles of government? The last Tarquin must however be excepted in several respects. Where do we find an instance of a like uniformity in any history whatsoever? Does not the experience of all ages, and of all nations, show that the successor is pleased with pulling down what has been set up by his predecessor, and that every prince has his peculiar notions, manners, and fancies? Whereas at Rome we see a plan pursued, which the various regulations of the kings, all tending to the same end, serve only to strengthen and compleat.

Not but that in many things the Roman government had its weaknesses and failings, witness the servile dependence on the aruspices and augurs, the blind credulity for the most obscure oracles, and for omens, witness the casual meeting of things, dreams, Sibylline books, of which I am going to speak, and a thousand other silly particulars. But notwithstanding all this, the affairs

fairs of the state were in the main conducted with extraordinary prudence.

*The Sibyl's
books*
Dionys.
l. 4 p. 255,
260.

It was in this reign that the Sibylline writings were brought to Rome. An unknown and strange woman came to the king, and offered to sell him nine volumes of the Sibylline oracles. Tarquin refusing to give the money she demanded, she burnt three volumes, and returned some time after with the other six, asking the same price as she had done for the nine. She was looked upon as a mad-woman, and her offer rejected with scorn and contempt. Then she burnt three volumes more, and appearing before the king, told him she was going to burn the last three, if he would not give her what she demanded at first. Tarquin surprized at the woman's obstinacy, sent for the augurs, who said he could not purchase too dear the remaining books. The woman immediately received the money, and charging them to be kept with great care, instantly vanished.

All this has much the air of a trick invented by Tarquin himself, to impose upon the people, and to find in the books of the Sibyls whatever the government pleased, of which in the sequel we have several instances. Be this as it will, the king committed the custody of the new treasure to two persons chosen out of the nobility, and appointed under them two public officers to take care of its preservation. But after the expulsion of the kings, the republic was more particularly careful of these mysterious books. They were put into a stone-chest, which was deposited in one of the vaults under the capitol, and committed to the keeping of officers appointed for that purpose. They were but two a good while. In the year of Rome 387, the number was increased to ten, and afterwards by Sylla

Sylla to fifteen (1). They were persons of the first rank, and on this account exempted from all burdensome offices. The Sibylline oracles were consulted by an order of the senate, upon insurrections and seditions in the state, upon any notable defeat, upon a plague or other contagious distemper, and upon prodigies portending some great disaster. In the conflagration of the capitol during the wars of Marius and Sylla, the Sibylline books were burnt with the temple. This loss was deemed the greatest that could happen to the republic, and people were sent into all the provinces of the empire, and to the neighbouring kings and allies to gather up what could be found of the Sibylline oracles. A collection was made to apply to as before upon extraordinary occasions.

There is nothing more obscure or uncertain than what is related of the Sibyls (2). Thus were called certain women, who pretended to divine inspiration, and knowledge of the future. Neither their number nor the time of their appearance is known. Varro reckons ten: of which the most famous are, the *Delphian*, the *Erythræan*, the *Cumæan* (3). The last is supposed to offer Tarquin a collection of the oracles of several Sibyls. The fathers are divided in their opinions upon this subject. The greatest part believed them inspired by the devil; some by God himself in reward of their virginity. The last opinion is not very likely. The

(1) *They were at first called Duumviri, afterwards Decemviri, and lastly Quindecemviri, and were an order of priesthood.*

(2) *Sibylla, quasi σίξ βελή, that is, Dei consilium, the*

counsel of God.

(3) *As well from Cuma in Æolis, as from Cumæ in Italy. Some make the Sibyls nine, some four, some three, and some but one.*

*Ancient
History,
Vol. X.*

Plut. in
Cæs.

P. 755.

Sibylline books now extant are undoubtedly spurious, The great secrecy wherewith the books of the Sibyls and all that related to them were kept, afforded the keepers means to forge such predictions as they pleased. We have seen how the opposers of Ptolemy Auletes's restoration to the throne, had dressed up a Sibylline oracle directly against him. Cæsar, in his earnest desire to be called king, spread among the people a report, that it was expressly asserted by the Sibylline books, *The kingdom of the Parthians shall be conquered by the Romans when they make war under the conduct of a king : but otherwise they shall never enter there.* These Sibylline books were thus one of the mysteries in the government, made use of by those that had them in their power, to lead the people by a false appearance of religion (1). I return to Tarquin.

*Brutus ac-
companies
the two
princes to
Delphos.
Character
of Brutus.
Dionys.
14. p. 264,
265.
Liv. l. i.
c. 56.*

An unexpected prodigy in the palace about the time I am speaking of, namely, a serpent suddenly rushing forth from a wooden pillar, gave the king great uneasiness, and obliged him to send on purpose to Delphos to consult the oracle upon it. He thought proper to trust the affair with none but his two sons, Titus and Aruns. They desired that their cousin Brutus might also go with them. As Brutus will presently make a great figure in our history, it is necessary to describe him.

Brutus was son of Marcus Junius, descended from one of Æneas's followers, and distinguished among the Romans by his singular merit. His mother was Tarquinia, daughter of

(1) The copies or extracts that were gathered up in Greece and other parts were kept with the same superstition as the former, 'till about the time of Theodosius the Great;

when, the senate being mostly Christians, they grew out of vogue, and at last were all burnt by Stilicho, under Honorius.

king Tarquin the Elder. He received a happy education, which formed his manners to the genius of the nation. He had great endowments, as well of nature as art. But seeing many of the most considerable citizens put to death by Tarquin for the sake of their spoils, among others, his father Junius and elder brother, he resolved to leave nothing in his person or fortune that might rouse the fear or avarice of the king, and to seek in contempt a security which he could not expect from justice and the laws. He counterfeited therefore the idiot, assumed all the airs and ways of one, suffered himself to be stripped of all his possessions without a murmur, and became the sport of the court; which gained him, as silly and weak, the surname of Brutus. He gladly took it, in order to conceal under that opprobrious name the deliverer of the Roman people, which it was not yet time to discover (*a*).

The two princes carried Brutus with them to Delphos, not so much for a companion, as to divert them in their journey by his foolish and ridiculous actions. When they were come, they offered their presents to Apollo, and jested very much upon Brutus for offering only a stick. It was an elder-stick, in which he had privately inclosed a gold rod, an emblem of his character and mind. When Tarquin's sons had discharged their commission, and received an answer on the occasion of their embassy, they

(*a*) Neque in animo suo quicquam regi timendum, neque in fortuna concupiscendum relinquere statuit; *contemptu tutus esse, ubi in jure parum præsidii esset. Ergo ex industria factus ad imi-

tationem stultitiæ, cum se suæque prædæ esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuic cognomen, ut sub ejus obtentu cognominis liberator ille populi Romani animus latens, opperretur tempora sua. *Livy.*

were

were seized with the curiosity of knowing which of them was destined to reign. *He*, answered the oracle, *who shall first kiss his mother*. The Tarquins agreed to keep the thing secret, that their brother Sextus, who staid at Rome, might know nothing of it, and so be excluded the throne; and resolved to draw lots who should first kiss their mother at their return to Rome. Our idiot appeared, by the event, to have better understood the oracle, for pretending to fall down by chance, he kissed the earth, persuaded she is the common mother of all mankind. When they came back to Rome, they found a war entered into against the Rutuli.

*Siege of
Ardea.
Liv. l. 1.
c. 56—60.
Dionys.
l. 4. p. 261
—277.*

Tarquin formed the siege of Ardea, capital of the Rutuli, situate three miles from the sea, and twenty from Rome, on pretence that the Romans he had banished were harboured in that city, and their restoration endeavoured; but in reality because it was the wealthiest city of Latium, and he had a mind to the riches, which he much wanted for the extraordinary expences he was engaged in by his structures. The king found more resistance than he imagined, and the assault which at first had been very brisk, grew remiss by degrees. Whilst the siege, which had now lasted some time, and was carried on but slowly by Tarquin, afforded a good deal of leisure, the princes his sons passed the time in entertainments and diversions. Ardea was not above six or seven leagues from Rome.

*Death of
Lucretia,
which oc-
casioned
the expul-
sion of the
kings.*

One day as they were at supper at Sextus Tarquin's with Collatinus, Lucretia's husband, the conversation ran upon the merit of their wives. Every one gave his own the preference. *What signify so many words*, says Collatinus, *you may in a few hours, if you please, be convinced by your own eyes, how much my Lucretia excels*
the

the rest. We are young: Let us mount our horses, and go and surprize them. Nothing can better decide our dispute than the state we shall find them in at a time when most certainly they will not expect us. They were a little warmed with wine. Come on, let us go, they all cry together. They quickly galloped to Rome, where they find the princesses, wives of the young Tarquins, surrounded with company, amidst diversions and good cheer. From thence they ride to Collatia, where they saw Lucretia in a very different situation. With her women about her, she was at work in the inner part of her house. The victory was adjudged to her unanimously. She received her guests with all possible politeness and civility.

Lucretia's virtue, which should have commanded respect, was the very thing that kindled in the breast of Sextus Tarquin, a very dissolute prince, a strong and detestable passion. Within a few days he returned to Collatia. And after having in vain tried all manner of ways to seduce her, at length declares he will not only murder her, but to destroy her reputation with her life, will also kill a slave and place him by her side in the bed. Lucretia's constancy, which had been proof against the fear of death, could not hold out against the fear of infamy. The young prince having satisfied his passion, returned home as in triumph (a).

On the morrow, Lucretia, overwhelmed with grief and despair, sent early in the morning to desire her father and husband to come to her, and bring with them each a trusty friend: assuring them there was no time to lose. They came

(a) Quo terrore cum viciisset obstinatum pudicitiam inde Tarquinius ferox, expugnato decore muliebri. *Liv.*
velut victrix libido, profectus

with all speed, the one accompanied with Valerius (so famous afterwards by the name of Publicola) and the other with Brutus. The moment she saw them come in, she could not command her tears : and when her husband asked if all was well : *By no means* : (says she) (a) *For how can it be well with a woman after the loss of her honour ? Yes, Collatinus, thy bed has been defiled by a stranger. But my body only is polluted, my mind is innocent, as my death shall witness. Promise me only not to suffer the adulterer to go unpunished. It is Sextus Tarquinius, who last night, treacherous guest, or rather cruel foe, offered me violence, and reaped a joy fatal to me, but, if you are men, still more fatal to him. All promised to revenge her* (b), and at that same time tried to comfort her with representing, that “ the mind only sins, not the body ; and “ where the consent is wanting, there can be “ no guilt.” *What Sextus deserves* (replies Lucretia) *I leave you to judge : but for me, though I declare myself innocent of the crime, I exempt not myself from the punishment. No immodest woman shall plead Lucretia’s example to outlive her dishonour. Thus saying, she plunges into her breast a dagger she had concealed under her robe.*

(a) Adventu suorum lacrymæ obortæ ; querent quæ viro Satin’ salvæ ? Minime, inquit. Quid enim salvi est mulieri amissa pudicitia ? Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo. Ceterum, corpus est tantum violatum : animus insons : mors testis erit. Sed date dextras fidemque, hæc impune adultero fore. Sextus est Tarquinius, qui hostis pro hospite priore nocte vi armatus, mihi subique, si vos

virī estis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium. Liv.

(b) Dant ordine omnes fidem : consolantur ægram animi, avertendo noxam ab coacta in auctorem delicti. Mentem peccare, non corpus ; & unde consilium abfuerit, culpam abesse. Vos, inquit, videritis quid illi debeat : ego me, etsi peccato absolvo, supplicio non libero : nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretia exemplo vivet. Ibid.

Her

Her father and her husband cry out, but Brutus, without losing time in shedding fruitless tears, draws out of Lucretia's breast the dagger all bloody, and holding it up, *I swear, (says he) by this blood so pure and chaste before Tarquin's pollution, and I call you, O gods, to witness, that with fire and sword I will pursue the tyrant, his wife, and all his guilty race; nor will I suffer any person for the future to reign in Rome.* Then he presents the dagger to Collatinus, to Lucretius, and to Valerius, who were all surprized to behold in Brutus a presence of mind and height of courage, so different from what they had 'till then perceived in him. All took the same oath.

This oath was as the signal of a general insurrection. The sight of Lucretia's body exposed all over blood in the forum of Collatia, breeds an universal sorrow, and inspires a lively desire of revenge. The youth instantly take arms. Brutus, after placing guards at the city gates to hinder Tarquin from being informed of what had passed, marches with the young men to Rome. This armed band caused at first a great tumult and alarm in the city: but when the most considerable and most esteemed citizens were seen at their head, people took courage again. Brutus, as captain of the guards (1), ordered an herald instantly to call an assembly, and made the people a speech which had nothing of that air of stupidity which he had hitherto affected. "He related what had passed
" at Collatia, Sextus Tarquin's crime, chaste

(1) Brutus happened to be Tribune, or Prætorius Celerum. After the expulsion of the kings, the Magister Equitum held the same command under the dictators, and Prætorius Prætorio under the emperors. By virtue of this office, Brutus could assemble the Comitia.

“ Lucretia’s sad fate and tragical end, the in-
“ consolable grief of a father, less affected
“ with the death of his daughter, than with
“ the cause. He then called to mind the
“ crimes of Tarquin himself: his avarice,
“ pride, cruelties, unworthy treatment of the
“ citizens, in employing them in his buildings
“ like labourers and slaves; he mentions also
“ the horrible murder of king Servius, Tul-
“ lia’s barbarous impiety in driving her chariot
“ over her father’s body, the public execrations
“ of all the people, invoking against her the
“ furies, avengers of the wickedness and in-
“ gratitude of unnatural children.” The whole
assembly applauded the speech, and immediately
decreed Tarquin, his wife and family, to per-
petual banishment.

Brutus, without loss of time, marches to Ardea with a good company of youths, full of courage and zeal, to stir up also the army against the king. He left Lucretius to command the city, whom Tarquin himself had appointed præfect or governor. In the commotion, Tullia fled out of the palace, pursued, wherever she went, with the cries and curses of the people. The king, upon advice of what passed in Rome, speedily departed to stop and stifle the sedition in it’s birth. Brutus, who had notice of it, turned out of the road in order to avoid him. They arrived both about the same time; Brutus at Ardea, Tarquin at Rome. Tarquin found the gates shut, and his banishment decreed. The camp joyfully received their deliverer, and the king’s sons were driven from thence. Two followed their father in exile at Cærea among the Hetrurians. Sextus Tarquinius retired to Gabii, where he had been settled.

The Romans concluded a fifteen years truce with the men of Ardea, and the army employed in the siege returned to Rome.

Lucretia's tragical death, which caused that great revolution, has been praised and extolled by Paganism, as the highest and most noble act of heroism. The Gospel thinks not so: it is an unjust murder, even according to Lucretia's principles, since she punished with death an innocent person, at least acknowledged as such by herself. She was ignorant that our life is not in our power, but in his disposal alone from whom we receive it.

St Austin, who carefully examines in his book *de Civitate Dei*, what we are to think of Lucretia's death, considers (a) it not as a courageous action flowing from a true love of chastity, but as an infirmity of a woman too sensible of worldly glory and fame, and who from the dread of appearing in the eyes of men accomplice of the violence she abhorred, and of a crime to which she was entirely a stranger, commits a real crime upon herself voluntarily and designedly.

But what cannot be sufficiently admired in this Roman lady, is her abhorrence of adultery, which she deems so heinous and detestable, that she cannot bear the thoughts of it. Such was the opinion of the very heathens concerning that matter. It suffices to produce here the example of two idolatrous princes of the same name, whom we find in the book of Genesis, Gen. xx. seized with fear and trembling at the sight of the danger, they had run of committing adultery¹⁰.

(a) Non est pudicitie castitas, sed pudoris infirmitas — Romana mulier laudis avida, nimiam verita est, ne

putaretur, quod violenter est passa cum viveret; libenter passa si viveret.

through ignorance. They own a sin so enormous would have drawn upon them and their whole kingdom the curse of heaven: *What hast thou done unto us*, (said Abimilech to Abraham), *and what have I offended thee in, that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin?*

Lucius Tarquin the Proud reigned twenty-three years. The duration of the regal state, from the foundation of Rome to the expulsion of the kings, was two hundred and forty-four years (1).

Comparison
between Numa
and
Tarquin.

When the reign of Tarquin the Proud is compared with that of Numa Pompilius, what a difference appears between good and bad princes! They have equally in one hand *the sword*, and in the other *the graces*: but use them very differently. Bad princes seem to place their whole power and grandeur in ruling the people with haughtiness and pride; in commanding their submission and respect through fear, and in showing them continually an authority menacing, formidable, and ready to punish the least opposition. The temper of good princes, on the contrary, inclines them to universal beneficence, to use their authority solely for the public good, to be powerful only to

(1) Sir Isaac Newton, in his chronology, has very much lessened the years both of the fourteen kings of Alba, and the seven kings of Rome. He thinks it very improbable, that seven kings should successively reign thirty-five years one with another. Instead of which he allows but seventeen years to each reign, and so reduces the 244 to 119 years. Likewise he reckons twenty years to each

of the Alban kings, which make in all 280. By this means he brings down the foundation of Rome to the 38th, instead of 6th Olympiad, and the destruction of Troy to the 20th year only, before the building of Carthage by Dido; which clears Virgil from the anachronism of near 300 years generally imputed to him, in making Æneas and Dido contemporary.

oblige,

oblige, to set no other bounds to their generosity and magnificence, than those of their power, and justice; in a word, to deem themselves chiefly the representatives of the Deity, in reigning over the hearts of their subjects.

The Roman authors have considered as *the State of infancy of Rome*, the time between it's foundation and Tarquin's expulsion: "Which (says Laurence Echard in his Roman history) was rightly so termed, since during the two hundred and forty-four years of the regal state, the Roman dominions were not above forty miles long, and thirty broad; a spot of ground not so long by a fourth part as either the dukedom of Modena, Parma, or Mantua, and not much larger than the territory of the commonwealth of Lucca."

It is true, to judge of Rome only by the extent of the countries she had hitherto conquered, no great idea can be formed of her. But had Athens, Lacedæmon, Corinth, Tyre, larger territories? In Rome, as yet weak and as it were newly born, are to be considered the largeness and justness of her views; her foresight of the future; her undaunted courage in battle; her moderation in victory; her unshaken firmness of mind in all events; her love and regard for simplicity, frugality, and poverty itself; her thirst of glory, which made her despise the greatest dangers and hardships; her ripeness of wisdom and prudence, which shines so admirably in the deliberations of the senate; in a word, her spirit of government, rules of conduct, principles of policy, firmly established under the kings, which will subsist in the whole course of the Republic, and open a way to the conquest of the universe.

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE SECOND.

THIS book contains in four chapters the history of the Roman commonwealth from the beginning of the *Consular government* to the creation of the *Tribunes of the people*, that is, from the year of Rome 244 to 261, being the space of seventeen years.

INTRODUCTION.

*Reflections
on the dif-
ferent cha-
racters of
the kings.
Liv. l. 2.
c. 1.*

A Change of scene is going to present to us the Roman people in the enjoyment of liberty, and, under a new government, the empire of law more powerful than that of men (*a*). The cruelty of the late reign served to render that liberty the more pleasant. All the kings, before Tarquin the Proud, had in some measure prepared the way to it, and laid the first foundations. Their authority, tempered with that of the senate and people, instead of degene-

(*a*) Imperia legum potentiora quam hominum. *Liv.*
l. 1. c. 2.

rating into arbitrary and despotic power, preserved always a character of goodness, equity, justice, which had something of popular. The variety of temper and genius by which they were all distinguished and inspired with very different dispositions, was absolutely necessary to establish and strengthen a new state, which could not at once take a sure and lasting form. The first of these kings, conquering out of inclination and necessity, thought only of forming a nation of soldiers. His successor, naturally inclined to peace, strove to soften and civilize by wise laws and religious institutions the rough and fierce manners of the primitive Romans. Some, by a happy mixture of these two characters, as well warlike as pacific, caused to go hand in hand the regulations and views which seemed to be divided by the two first kings. Finally, in latter times, under Servius Tullius, was seen to arise a new form of government, which settled the rights and privileges of each state, and lasted as long as the commonwealth, so wisely and maturely did it's maxims appear to be concerted.

Tarquin the Proud had no right but force to the crown. He had mounted the throne by trampling upon all the laws of humanity, and of the state. Brutus merited therefore great honour in dethroning an usurper who used tyrannically a power unjustly acquired. But it is agreed, that in case he had lived under any one of the former kings, and by an unseasonable zeal for liberty had undertaken to wrest the scepter out of his hand, besides the injustice of the thing, he would have done the public a very great injury. What would have been the consequence, if that multitude of herdsmen and adventurers,

O 4

who

who, by the allurements of liberty or impunity, were come for refuge to Rome, without being restrained by the fear of sovereign authority, should have seen themselves exposed to the storms raised afterwards by the Tribunes? What danger would there have been, if, in a city as yet foreign in some measure with respect to that multitude, they had been to raise and maintain violent contests with the senate, before the affection for a wife and children, the love of one's country, which come only by time, and before wise laws, cemented by a common interest and strengthened by long custom, had knit the bonds of a strict union between the citizens? Discord without doubt would have destroyed an infant-state, which, under the shadow of a monarchical, but limited government, grew insensibly to a degree of maturity and strength, capable of making a good use of liberty, and advantageously supporting its whole weight (*a*).

Indeed, as Cicero observes (*b*), when one considers at one view the wise regulations and wholesome laws derived from the royal power: the auspices, religious ceremonies, the order of the assemblies, the power of the people now owned and revered, the august assembly of the senate, looked upon as the great council of the nation, the military discipline and martial courage car-

(*a*) *Dissepatae res. nondum adultae, discordia forent: quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii, eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis jam viribus ferre possent.*

(*b*) *Cum à primo urbis ortu regis institutis, partim etiam legibus, auspicia, cere-*

moniae, comitia, provocationes, patrum consilium, equitum peditumque descriptio, tota res militaris divinitus esset constituta; tum progressio admirabilis incredibilisque cursus ad omnem excellentiam factus est, dominatu regio republica liberata. Tusc. Quaest. l. 4. c. 2.

ried to a surprizing and astonishing height, all the parts of the commonwealth appear in so permament and settled a state as to seem almost entirely perfect. And yet this same commonwealth, after shaking off the regal yoke, and obtaining liberty, appeared still quite another thing, and by a swift progress rose in all respects to a perfection and excellence hardly to be conceived.

C. H A P. I.

Brutus and Collatinus are appointed Consuls. An oath is taken never to suffer kings at Rome. The senate is filled up. An embassy from Tarquin, to demand restitution of his possessions. The ambassadors cabal at Rome. Several young noblemen conspire Tarquin's restoration. Their plot is discovered. They are condemned, and put to death. Brutus's sad constancy. Tarquin's possessions are given up to plunder. Collatinus is suspected, and abdicates the consulship. Valerius is chosen in his room. Examination of Brutus's conduct in the execution of his sons.

A. R. 244.
Ant. C.
508.
*Brutus and
Collatinus
are ap-
pointed
Consuls.*
Dionys.
l. 5 p. 277.
Liv. l. 2.
c. 1, 2.

WHEN Tarquin and with him the regal power were banished Rome, a new government was to be established. After some difficulties, it was unanimously agreed to create in the room of the kings, two consuls, whose authority should be annual, according to a plan found among the memoirs of Servius Tullius. The right of election was left to the people, but they were to be chosen out of the Patricians. These magistrates had for some time a power almost equal to the regal. They were heads of the senate and people, and all other magistrates were subordinate to them. They administered justice, and disposed of the public money. They called the senate, and assembled the people as they pleased. They levied forces; appointed the officers: treated with foreign princes and their ambassadors. The modest title of *Consuls* put them in mind however that they were not so much the sovereigns of the commonwealth as the

the counsellors, and that the safety and glory of the nation ought to engross their attention. A.R. 244.
Ant. C.

The Roman people, assembled by the centuries, named for consuls, Lucius Junius Brutus, and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus. Valerius, who had most contributed next to Brutus to the advancement of liberty, expected to be his colleague in the consulship. Disappointed of his hopes, and highly displeased, he withdrew from the senate, appeared not on the Forum, and absolutely renounced the care of public affairs. His retreat bred in the people great uneasiness, and a fear of his reconciliation with the Tarquins. Collatinus, husband of Lucretia, had been preferred before him, not from a belief of his greater merit, but because he was considered as personally concerned in revenging the outrage he had received, and as being on that account the most irreconcilable enemy of the royal family. Valerius in that respect was no way behind him, and quickly gave proofs of it. When Brutus wanted to bind the senate by an oath against kings and kingly government, and had appointed a day for taking the oath, Valerius came into the place with a chearful countenance, and swore first never to hearken to any proposal from Tarquin, and to make war upon him for ever in defence of liberty: which highly pleased the senate, and encouraged the consuls.

It appears, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, that the first consuls entered upon the exercise of their office about the beginning of June, and that the first year of the consular government was sixteen months: namely, the four last of the year 244, and the twelve of the year 245, to the month of October, when generally the consulship began in those days, though there was at that time nothing yet regularly settled

A.R. 244.
Ant. C.
503.

tled in that matter. It was not 'till the year 599, that the consuls began for the first time to take possession of the consulship on the calends of January.

The consuls had the same ensigns of dignity as the kings, except the gold crown and scepter; namely, the purple robe, the curule chair of ivory, the fasces and axes, with the twelve lictors. It was feared, the people might take umbrage at the new form of government, and think, instead of one there were two kings, if the twelve fasces and axes, ensigns of the power of life and death, were carried alike before both consuls. To remedy that inconvenience, it was decreed, that one of the two consuls only should have right to the fasces armed with axes, and the lictors which walked before the other should carry fasces without axes: but, however, to avoid all appearance of superiority between the two consuls, they divided monthly, by turns, that mark of authority. Brutus had it first, his colleague yielding him that honour in consideration of his merit.

*An oath
taken ne-
ver to suf-
fer kings
at Rome.*

The consuls were no less zealous for the preservation and security, than they had been for the establishment of liberty. Having assembled the people, they exhorted them to union and concord, as the sole means of safety in so difficult a juncture, and renewed and confirmed the sentence passed on the Tarquins of perpetual banishment. To give the greater weight and force to these engagements, religious ceremonies were added, sacrifices offered, and the consuls approaching the altar, swore for themselves, their children, and all their posterity, never to recal either Tarquin, or his sons, or any of his family: that the Romans should never more be governed by kings, nor ever suffer any measures
to

to be taken for their restoration. Thus not only A.R. 244. kings, but royalty itself was proscribed. Those Ant. C. that should attempt to restore monarchy, were 508. devoted to the infernal gods, and condemned to the most cruel torments. The whole course of the history will show, that an abhorrence of royalty became the predominant character of the Romans, who could not so much as bear the name, when under the emperors they admitted the thing.

After that, the consuls filled up the senate, *The senate* which Tarquin the Proud had lessened and *is filled up.* weakened by the numbers he had put to death, or forced into banishment to avoid his cruelty, and had ended their lives out of Rome. To compleat the number of three hundred, there were chosen out of the principal knights or plebeians above and hundred and sixty senators, with the precaution of raising them all to the dignity of patricians before their admission into the senate. The old ones were called by the herald in the senate, *Patres, Fathers*; and the new ones, *Conscripti*. In process of time, all were called, without distinction, *Patres Conscripti* (1).

As the kings presided in person at certain sacrifices, a priest was created for that purpose only with the name of *Rex sacrorum*, or *King of the sacred things*. But that he might not take advantage of that name, and forget his sole business was the observance of the sacred ceremonies, he was made subject to the Pontifex Maximus, and forbid to exercise any civil office, or

(1) Livy says, in calling the senate, the words were, *Qui Patres, quique Conscripti essent. And therefore when Latin authors use Patres Conscripti, to express the senate in general, the conjunction is supposed to be understood, Patres & Conscripti; the Fathers and those that have been added*
speak

A. R. 244. speak before the people. Papirius was the first
 Ant. C. Rex Sacrorum: the same no doubt that compi-
 508. led all the laws made by the kings of Rome to
 Pompon. his time. This collection was called *Jus Papi-*
 de orig. *rianum*, as I have observed in my Ancient Hi-
 jurif. story, speaking of the professors of the law.

Tarquin's Whilst Rome was taking all kinds of mea-
effects are sures to secure the enjoyment of her new liberty,
granted Tarquin was using his utmost endeavours to re-
him. cover the throne from whence he had been ex-
 Liv. l. i. pelled. Having in vain tried to draw to his
 c. 3—5. interest some other nations, he retired at last to
 Dionys. the Hetrurians, from whom he was sprung.
 l. 5. p. 278 He represented to them in a lively and affect-
 —288. ing manner his melancholy situation, reduced to
 Plat. in wander about with his children, forced to seek
 Poplic. p. refuge and beg protection for obtaining justice
 98—100. upon those that had been his subjects. Moved
 by his speech, which was accompanied with
 tears, they were prevailed with to send ambas-
 sadors to Rome in his favour. They demanded
 at first that the Roman people would be pleased
 to suffer Tarquin to come and give an account
 of his conduct before them as his supreme judge,
 on whom he acknowledged his fate entirely de-
 pended. Perceiving this proposition rejected
 with disdain, they confined themselves to a sin-
 gle request, which seemed very just: namely,
 that the Roman people would restore to the
 king his effects at Rome, that he might in his
 misfortune live quietly in some retired place,
 without any thoughts of a throne. Tarquin
 had his views in this request, and the recovery
 of his effects was his least concern.

When the ambassadors withdrew, the affair
 was debated in the senate. Brutus, ever steady
 in his principles, was against all accommodation
 with the tyrant. “ To restore him his effects,
 — says

“ says he, is to put a sword in his hand a- A.R. 244.
 “ gainst ourselves; the Tarquins will never be Ant. C.
 “ satisfied with a private life.” Collatinus, 508.

his colleague, of a mild and moderate temper, was of the contrary opinion. He represents,
 “ It is not upon the tyrant’s estate, but his
 “ person, that our calamities are to be laid.
 “ There are two things equally to be dread-
 “ ed: either the making it believed that the
 “ Tarquins were expelled for the sake of their
 “ riches, or the giving the Tarquins a pre-
 “ tence to demand, sword in hand, the estates
 “ they have been deprived of. In a word,
 “ their request, which seems just, may influ-
 “ ence many nations in their favour.” As the
 senate, after several days debate, could not
 come to any resolution, they referred the decisi-
 on of the matter to the people assembled by
 centuries. The two consuls strongly supported
 their respective opinions. Collatinus’s at last
 prevailed, and it was carried, by one vote, that
 Tarquin’s possessions should be restored to him.

Great was the joy of the ambassadors. They
 instantly write to Tarquin to send trusty persons
 to receive his effects: and they themselves still
 remained at Rome, under pretence that their
 presence was necessary to take care of the re-
 moval of the goods, but in reality to form a
 party secretly according to Tarquin’s instruc-
 tions.

They began therefore with privately carrying *Conspiracy*
 on their intrigues, artfully taking advantage of *for resto-*
 the discontents of some young noblemen of the *ring the*
 best families in Rome. All those that shined *Tarquins.*
 most amongst the Roman youth, companions
 formerly of the pleasures of the Tarquins, and
 had lived without any restraint under the pro-
 tection of those princes, complained to one
 another,

A. R. 244. another, that the liberty enjoyed by others was
 Ant. C. to them the beginning of a grievous servitude.
 508. Used to the flattering distinctions of a court,
 they could not bear that mortifying equality
 which levelled them with the meanest of the
 people. They compared the indulgences of mo-
 narchical government with the austerity of a
 republican state, saying, “ A king is a man
 “ from whom you may obtain your desires
 “ whether right or wrong : from a prince fa-
 “ vours and benefits may be expected ; and if
 “ he is offended, he has also power to pardon :
 “ he can distinguish his friends from his foes :
 “ whereas laws are deaf and inexorable, safer
 “ and better for the weak than the powerful :
 “ they have no mercy or indulgence for those
 “ that transgress : the frailty of man is such,
 “ that it is dangerous to rely on innocence
 “ alone for support (a).”

Minds thus inclined readily hearkened to the
 proposal made them from the Tarquins, of re-
 storing the regal power, and reinvesting those
 with it to whom it rightfully belonged. It was
 proposed to them by the ambassadors sent by the
 banished princes to demand their possessions.
 A conspiracy was formed, in which a great part
 of the young nobility was concerned. Among
 the rest were the two sons of Brutus the consul,
 who were scarce fourteen years old ; two of the
 Vitellii, sons of Collatinus's sister, the other
 consul, and brothers of Brutus's wife : two of

(a) Regem hominem esse,
 à quo impetres ubi jus, ubi
 injuria opus sit : esse gratiæ
 locum, esse beneficio : &
 irasci, & ignoscere posse : in-
 ter amicum atque inimicum
 discrimen nosse. Leges, rem
 surdam, inexorabilem esse,

salubriorem melioremque in-
 opi quàm potenti : nihil lax-
 amenti nec veniæ habere, si
 modum excesseris : periculo-
 sum esse in tot humanis erro-
 ribus, sola innocentia vivere.
 Liv.

the Aquilii, sons of another sister of Collatinus. A. R. 244. The house of the Aquilii was the usual place of meeting, where measures were concerted for recalling the tyrant. Ant. C. 508.

The providence of the gods, (says Dionysius Halicarnassensis) to which the Romans are indebted for their incredible growth, never appeared so visibly in their behalf as on this occasion. The heads of the conspiracy, by a supernatural blindness (*a*), were so infatuated as to write under their own hands letters to the tyrant, informing him of the number of the conspirators, and the time appointed for dispatching the consuls. Plutarch adds, that the conspirators thought proper to bind themselves by the most horrible oaths, drinking all together the blood of a human sacrifice, and swearing over the reeking entrails. This circumstance, mentioned only by Plutarch, seems very improbable. The same thing was afterwards said of Catiline: but perhaps with no better foundation.

The evening before the ambassadors were to return to the Tarquins, a great entertainment was made at the Aquilii's (1). After supper, the servants being all dismissed, they openly talked of their project, thinking themselves without witnesses, and wrote the above-mentioned letters, which were to be put into Tarquin's hands. A slave, called Vindicius, who suspected something, stood without the apartment, where he heard their discourse, and through a crevice of the door saw the letters which they were writing. He instantly ran and told the consuls what he had seen and heard. The consuls immediately going with a strong guard, but

(a) Τριαύτη ἀνείηκε δὲ θεο-
βλαβεία τὰς δυσήτους ἐκείνας
κατασχέειν.

(1) Livy says at the Vi-
tellii's, Lib. 2. c. 24.

A R 244 without noise, apprehend the ambassadors and
Ant. C. conspirators, and seize the letters. The traitors
508. were thrown into prison. It was doubted some
time what to do with the ambassadors. Though
they had themselves violated the law of nations,
regard was had to their character, and they were
dismissed.

Brutus's
sad con-
fancy.

As soon as it was day, Brutus ascended his
tribunal. The prisoners were brought before
him, and tried in form. Vindicius's evidence
was heard, and the letters to Tarquin were read.
After which, the conspirators were allowed to
speak, if they had any thing to urge in their de-
fence. Sighs, groans, and tears were their only
answer. The whole assembly stood with down-
cast looks, and no man ventured to open his
mouth. This mournful silence was broken with
a low murmur of *banishment, banishment*, with
which it was wished Brutus would be contented
to punish the prisoners. But unmoved by any
motive but that of the public good, he pronoun-
ced upon them the sentence of death, which was
accordingly put in execution.

Never was an event more capable of creating
at the same time both grief and horror. Brutus,
father and judge of two of the offenders, was
obliged by his office to see his own sons execu-
ted. The spectator, says Livy (a), that should
have

(a) Direptis bonis regum,
damnati prodores, sump-
tumque supplicium, conspec-
tus eo quod pœnæ capiendæ
ministerium patri de liberis
consulatus imposuit : & qui
spectator erat amovendus,
eum ipsum fortuna exactorem
supplicii cedit. Stabant de-
ligati ad palum nobilissimi
juvenes. Sed à cæteris, velut

ab ignotis capitibus, consulis
liberi omnium in se averterant
oculos: miserebatque non pœ-
næ magis homines, quàm sce-
leris quo pœnam meriti essent.
Illos eo potissimum amo,
patriam liberatam, patrem
liberatorem, consulatum or-
tum ex domo Junia, Pa-
tres, Plebem, quicquid deo-
rum hominumque Romano-

have been absent, was himself by fortune made A.R. 244.
 the sad instrument of their punishment. A great Ant C.
 number of the most noble youths were seen tied 508:
 to stakes: But the rest were as little regarded
 as if they had been persons unknown. The
 consul's sons alone attracted all eyes. The
 spectators, touched with compassion, not only
 for so tragical an end, but also for the inconsiderateness which had brought them to so unhappy a destiny; lamented the phrenzy which had stifled in them all sense of reason and their own interest to such a degree as to induce them to betray, the same year the effects of a happy revolution began to be felt, their country freed from slavery, their father their deliverer, the consulship first enjoyed by their family, the senate, people, in a word, their religious and civil rights, and all in favour of Tarquin, formerly a proud tyrant, now an exile, full of animosity against his country, by which he was proscribed. The consuls appeared then on their tribunal: and whilst the criminals were executing, the whole assembly fixed their eyes on the father, examining his motion, behaviour, and looks, which, in spite of his sad firmness, discovered the sentiments of nature, which he sacrificed to the necessity of his office, but could not entirely stifle.

The rest of the delinquents were punished in the same manner; and though Collatinus endeavoured to save his nephews, not one escaped punishment.

rum esset, indoxisse in animum, ut superbo quondam regi, tum infello exuli, p. o-derent. Consules in sedem processere sram, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium, nudatos virgis cædunt,

securique feriunt: cùm inter omne tempus pater, vultusque & os ejus spectaculo esset; eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pœnæ ministerium. Liv.

A. R. 244. The affair of Tarquin's effects was again de-
Ant. C. bated in the senate. The voices were no lon-
508. ger divided. It was decreed not to restore them
Tarquin's nor to put them into the public treasury. They
effects gi- were given up for plunder to the people, to
ven up to make them the more irreconcilable with the
plunder. tyrants. Their palace and country-houses were
 levelled to the ground. Among the rest of
 their possessions, they had a piece of ground in
 the best part of the field of Mars: it was again
 consecrated to that god. Here were held the
 assemblies of the Roman people by centuries,
 and here the Roman youth exercised themselves
 in the several kinds of the public games.

After the punishment of the treachery, a re-
 ward was thought on for the zeal and fidelity of
 the slave that discovered the plot. Vindicius
 was made free, declared a Roman citizen, with
 full right of voting in the tribe he was assigned
 to, and presented with a large sum of money.

Collatinus To put an end to Tarquin's affair, a general
grown sus- pardon was granted to all the Roman citizens
pected, ab- that had followed him into banishment, on con-
ditions the dition of their return to Rome within the space
consul. of twenty days. In default of which, they were
ship; Vale- condemned to perpetual exile, and their estates
rius is put forfeited.
in his

room.

Lionel.

p 285.

Liv. l. 2.

c. 2.

The hatred against the Tarquins was so vio-
 lent, that it passed from their person to their
 name. Tarquin Collatinus, though he had been
 so deeply concerned in the expulsion of the
 kings, and the establishment of liberty, fell a
 victim to his name. His warmly espousing the
 restitution of the Tarquins effects had bred
 some slight suspicion of him, and his backward-
 ness in the condemnation and punishment of
 the conspirators compleated his ruin. Peo-
 ple's affections were daily alienated from him,
 and

and he became the subject of their common discourse, wherein they naturally communicated to one another their fears and uneasinesses. Brutus, to prevent the ill consequences of what was whispered about the city, and raised a general murmur, assembled the people. He began with reading the decree, by which the people had bound themselves with an oath not to suffer any man to reign in Rome. He added, “ Though

A.R. 244.
Ant. C.
508.

“ liberty was not actually in danger, yet too
“ much care could not be taken to secure the
“ execution of the decree. He was sorry to
“ say it with respect to his colleague, whose
“ merit and good intentions he acknowledged,
“ but love of his country prevailed over his
“ private affection: The Roman people did
“ not think their liberty entirely recovered,
“ whilst they saw the name and blood of those
“ detested kings, not only subsisting in Rome,
“ but cloathed with sovereign power, a dan-
“ gerous obstacle to liberty. *Free us, says he,*
“ *speaking to Collatinus, of your own accord*
“ *from this fear, which, though perhaps vain and*
“ *groundless, makes the people uneasy. We know,*
“ *we confess, you expelled the kings. Complete*
“ *the good office by removing from us the regal*
“ *name. The citizens not only will give you all*
“ *your possessions, but will gladly and bountifully*
“ *increase them. Leave the city with their esteem*
“ *and affection. They imagine royalty will not*
“ *depart hence but with the whole Tarquinian fa-*
“ *mily.*”

Collatinus was strangely surprized at such a speech, which he had no reason to expect. He was preparing to reply in his vindication, when all the principal citizens surround him, and with great earnestness make him the same request. He was not moved with their remon-

A R. 244. strances: but when he saw his father-in-law Spu-
 Ant C. rius Lucretius, eminent for his merit and repu-
 508. tation, join his entreaties and persuasions, mix-
 ing authority with affection, to induce him to
 yield to the desires of his fellow-citizens: then
 fearing that in case he submitted not voluntarily
 to their request, he should very soon, when out
 of his office, be forced into banishment, not
 only with ignominy, but also with loss of his
 estates, he abdicated the consulship, departed
 from the city, and retired to Lavinium with all
 his effects. The people presented him with
 twenty talents, or 3875*l.* sterling, to which
 Brutus added five talents of his own.

De offic. Cicero, in the third book of Offices examines
 l 3. n. 4^o. whether the Roman people's behaviour to that
 consul was honest and right. "It might not,
 " says he, seem honest in Brutus to depose Colla-
 " tinus his brother-consul from his office, whose
 " wisdom and conduct he himself had made use
 " of in expelling the kings. But since the chief
 " men in the government had so ordered, that
 " the kindred of Tarquinius Superbus, and
 " very name of the Tarquins, should be ba-
 " nished the city, and no marks or footsteps be
 " suffered to remain of monarchical govern-
 " ment, it was not only profitable thus to con-
 " sult for the safety of his country, but so ho-
 " nest too, as that Collatinus himself ought
 " gladly to have acquiesced in it."

Immediately after Collatinus's retreat, the se-
 nate made a decree, which was confirmed by
 the people, ordering all the citizens of the fa-
 mily of the Tarquins to depart from Rome.
 Brutus, without loss of time, assembled the peo-
 ple by centuries, and caused Publius Valerius
 to be chosen consul, procuring him by that
 means the just reward due to his services.

Let

Let us look back a moment, and examine A. R. 244. Ant. C. 503. in few words what we are to think of Brutus's act in putting his sons to death. Is it steadiness Examina- in him? Is it insensibility? Is Brutus's love of tion of his country to be commended? Is his cruelty to Brutus's his children to be detested? He acts here two conduct in parts: the consul, and the father: and he is the execu- equally bound to discharge the duties of both. tion of his As consul, he considers only the good of the sons. state. He is sensibly touched with the extreme danger his country had been in, and from which it was delivered by a providence seemingly miraculous. The new government was not universally liked. Tarquin had many friends in Rome, of which the conspiracy was a proof. Brutus, by sparing his sons, could not punish any other of the criminals. The same indulgence which saved their life, might have recalled them from banishment. Their return was of the utmost hazard with respect to the dissolute young noblemen, who had been capable of forming a plot, tending to no less than the destruction of their father and country. Brutus had a mind to spread terror, and also to inspire the Romans for ever with the highest and most irreconcilable hatred of royalty and tyranny. A bare exile was not sufficient for those purposes. But a father, forced to shed himself the blood of his own children, was a sight, the remembrance whereof could never be effaced, and of which the horror would descend to all future ages. And indeed, such was the impression left on people's minds by that bloody execution, that it may be said, in some sense, to have been ever after present to the eyes of the Romans.

It was doubtless very grievous to paternal affection; and this is admirably expressed by

A.R. 244.
Ant. C.
508.

Livy in these words : *eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pænæ ministerium*. The tenderness of a father appeared in his eyes, in his countenance, in his whole behaviour ; *eminente animo patrio*. There was a sharp conflict between the love of a father to his children, and the love of a consul to his country. The last carried it : *Vincet amor patriæ*, says Virgil, but it was not without difficulty. To overcome implies a conflict and resistance ; and so it ought to have been. Otherwise Brutus's act would have been neither steadiness nor courage, but a savage fierceness. If he had shown, as Plutarch supposes, neither concern, nor grief, nor sensibility, Brutus, in my opinion, should be considered as a monster.

C H A P. II.

A battle between the consuls and Tarquin. Death of Brutus. Honours paid to his memory. Valerius is suspected: he razes his house, and prefers several popular laws. Sp. Lucretius is chosen for his colleague, who, dying presently after his election, is succeeded by M. Horatius. Porsena undertakes the restoration of the Tarquins. Famous exploit of Horatius Cocles; and of Clælia. Porsena makes peace with the Romans. Dedication of the Capitol. Tarquin despairing to recover the throne by Porsena's assistance, retires to Tusculum.

STRATAGEM and cabal proving fruit- A.R. 245.
 less, Tarquin had recourse to the way of Ant. C.
 arms and open force. He prevailed by his re- 507.
 monstrances and intreaties with two powerful *Battle be-*
 nations of Hetruria, the Veientes and Tarquinii, *tween the*
 to espouse his cause. The Veientes hoped to be *consuls*
 revenged, under the conduct of a Roman gene- *and Tar-*
 ral, for the pretended injuries received from *quin.*
 Rome. The Tarquinii thought it for their ho- Liv. l. 2.
 nour to see on the Roman throne a prince origi- c. 6.
 nally of their city. A battle was fought, me- Dionys.
 morable only for Brutus's death. Aruns, son l. 5. p. 288
 of Tarquin, and the consul, met each at the — 292.
 head of their cavalry, before the armies were
 engaged. Aruns discovering Brutus: *There*
is the man, says he, that has expelled us our
country: behold him insolently adorned with our
ensigns! Assist me, O ye gods, avengers of kings!
 That moment they flew upon one another with
 such fury, that, each regardless of his own de-
 fence, and eager to wound his adversary, they
 ran

A.R. 245. ran one another through the body, and in the
 Ant. C. same instant fell dead from their horses. The
 507. battle ensued, and was very obstinate. The armies parted with equal loss. It is pretended, that a voice was heard out of the wood Arfia, declaring the Romans conquerors, and to have lost one man less than the Hetrurians. It is certain, the Romans remained masters of the field. Valerius was decreed a triumph. He was the first consul that made a triumphant entry into Rome in a chariot with four horses, which custom was afterwards retained.

*Honours
 paid to the
 memory of
 Brutus.*

The body of Brutus was carried by the most eminent knights, with all the marks of honour, and tokens of the sincerest grief. When they came near the city, they were met a good way out of the gates by the senate, with the parade of a triumph, with which they intended to grace the funeral of that great man. The consul, cloathed in mourning, exposed in the Forum Brutus's body upon a bed as richly adorned as the simplicity of those early times would permit, and before all the people made an oration in praise of his colleague.

This was the first instance of a funeral oration among the Romans. They had not borrowed the custom from the Greeks. The famous battle of Marathon, after which honourable marks of distinction were first given in Greece to those that died sword in hand, is of a later date by sixteen years than Brutus's death. Nay, the Romans in this point not only led the way, but excelled the Grecians. The Greek panegyrics were confined to martial courage, and to those only that died in defence of their country. Whatever esteem the Romans had for valour, it was not the only kind of merit they deemed worthy their encomiums. All the great
 men

men who had distinguished themselves whilst A.R. 245. alive, either by their ability in the conduct of Ant. C. armies, or by their prudence in councils, or 507. by their vigilance in the functions of the magistracy, or by other services done their country, received after their death their due tribute of praise, whether they died fighting for their country, or ended their lives in a natural and peaceable manner.

The Roman ladies signalized themselves also by the honours they paid to Brutus's memory. They all went into mourning, and wore it a year *, in acknowledgment for his revenging so notably the outrage done to conjugal chastity on the person of Lucretia.

Valerius had cause to repent his outliving *Valerius* Brutus. That great man, so devoted to the *becomes* public good, and so zealous a defender of li- *suspected.* berty, was however suspected of aspiring to *He raises* royalty, so apt is a too jealous love of liberty *his liberty.* Liv 1. 2. to fill the people with distrust and suspicion. c. 7. Such is sometimes the sad lot of the best men, *Dionys.* even of those who have done their country the *p. 292.* greatest services. Not only their noble actions *Plut. in* are forgot, but they are accused, or at least sus- *Poplic.* pected, of bad ones (a). Two things gave ground *p. 102.* to a report so injurious to the consul: his building a house on the top of a hill which commanded the Forum; and his not appearing so forward as Brutus for the election of a colleague.

Valerius, informed of the people's suspicions, plainly showed on that occasion, says Plutarch,

* *The year of mourning was but ten months, according to Numa's prescription.*

(a) *Miseros interdum cives, optimè de rep. meritos!*

in quibus homines non modò res præclarissimas obliviscuntur, sed etiam nefarias suspirantur. Cic pro Mil. n. 63.

A R. 245. what an advantage it is for persons in the high-
 Ant. C. est posts, and in the administration of the pub-
 507. lic affairs, to have an ear more open to the sin-
 cere representations of their friends, than to the
 insinuating and grateful discourse of flatterers.
 It is true, he dwelt in a house too high and too
 stately. It stood on the brow of Velia, the
 highest part of mount Palatine ; and the avenues
 to it were so difficult, that it could hardly be
 approached. Upon the notice given him, he
 assembled the people. Silence being made, he
 said, “ He could not but envy the fortune of
 “ his colleague, who, after freeing his country,
 “ invested with the supreme power, died fight-
 “ ing for the commonwealth, at a time when
 “ his glory, arrived to it’s greatest height, was
 “ not yet become the object of jealousy and
 “ unjust prejudices. For his part, he had lived
 “ too long by some days, having had the mis-
 “ fortune to survive his own glory, and see
 “ himself charged with a detestable imputation,
 “ From the deliverer of his country he found
 “ himself degraded with traitors punished with
 “ death. *What then, added he, can no virtue*
 “ *be so far tried as to be safe from your suspicion ?*
 “ *Could I ever imagine, that I, declared enemy*
 “ *of kings, should be suspected of aspiring at Roy-*
 “ *alty ? What ! though I dwelt in the citadel it-*
 “ *self and in the capitol, should I believe I could*
 “ *be a cause of uneasiness to my fellow-citizens ?*
 “ *Has the confidence you have hitherto always*
 “ *placed in me so slight a foundation, that it must*
 “ *rather be considered where I dwell, than what I*
 “ *am : Be easy, O Romans, Valerius’s house shall*
 “ *never be an obstacle to your liberty. You have*
 “ *nothing to fear from Velia. The mount on*
 “ *which I have begun to build, shall alarm you no*
 “ *more. I will bring down my house, not only to*
 “ *the*

“ *the plain, but under the hill, that you may* A.R. 245.
 “ *overlook so dangerous and suspected a citizen.* Ant. C.
 “ *Let them build on Velia, in whose hands liberty* 507.
 “ *may more safely be lodged than in those of Vale-*
 “ *rius.*” Having got together a great number
 of workmen, he demolished, that very night, his
 house to the last stone,

The next morning, when the people saw the
 ruins, they were ashamed of their conduct,
 equally unjust and extravagant: they upbraided
 themselves for their ingratitude to a consul so
 manifest and constant a friend to their interests,
 and repented their forcing him to such extremi-
 ty. They repented of it: but, had they not
 seen the house demolished, they would perpe-
 tually have formed the same suspicions and com-
 plaints. For such is the nature of the people,
 says Plato, they condemn, and retract; they
 use ill, and are sorry; they put men to death,
 and the next moment wish them alive.

As for the second ground of complaint, de-
 ferring the election of a colleague, he really
 thought of removing it: but as he knew not a
 proper person, and was afraid the new consul,
 whether through envy or ignorance, might per-
 haps oppose his designs, he made use of the ab-
 solute power he enjoyed alone, to establish very
 great and most excellent regulations, which
 gained him the more honour as there was none
 to share the glory with him.

Valerius makes se-
veral po-
pular
laws.
 Liv. l. 1.
 c. 7, 8.
 Dionys.
 l. 5. p. 292.
 Plut. in
 Poplic. p.
 102, 103.

To give unquestionable proofs of his zeal for
 liberty, every time he went to the assemblies,
 he caused the fasces to be lowered before the
 people, as a homage to their sovereignty. That
 proceeding infinitely pleased the multitude, who
 saw with a sensible pleasure the ensigns of the
 supreme authority submitted to them, as a pub-
 lic acknowledgment, that the people's power was
 superior

A.R. 245. superior to the consul's (a). He ordered also;
Ant C. that in the city the axes should not be carried
507. with the fasces, but only without the walls.

He made several other laws which greatly increased the people's authority. There was one to this effect: "Every Roman citizen condemned by the magistrate either to death or scourging, or in any fine, shall have right to appeal to the people, and the magistrate be obliged to stop proceedings 'till the people's opinion be known."

He made it death for any person to take upon him the office of a magistrate, without the people's consent.

Another law gave permission to kill without trial any person who affected the regal power, and declared the author of the murder acquitted if he could prove the fact.

Plut.
p. 103.

He ordered the public money to be carried to the temple of Saturn, where the public treasure was deposited ever after, and he permitted the people to chuse two *Quæstors* or treasurers. Publius Veturius and Marcus Minucius were chosen.

Annal.
l. 11. c. 22.

Tacitus says the *Quæstors* were established in the time of the kings, which seems very probable. Perhaps Valerius only ordered they should be chosen by the people, and not by the consuls (1).

Valerius

(a) *Gratum id multitudini spectaculum fuit, summissa sibi esse imperii insignia; confessionemque factam, populi quàm consulis majestatem vimque majorem esse.*
Liv.

(1) *They were called Quæstors, à quærendo, from getting in the revenues of the state. The Quæstorship was*

the first office any person could bear, and might be undertaken at the age of twenty-four or twenty five years. In the year of Rome 332, two more were created, to take care of the payment of the army, to sell the plunder and booty, &c. They accompanied the consuls in their expeditions, and were therefore called Peregrini, to distinguish

Valerius established these and several other A.R. 245. such laws, which justly acquired him the name Ant. C. of *Publicola* *, that is to say, one that takes care 507. of the people's interest. It is easy to judge, laws of this nature made a great alteration in the government. The consular power, which at first equalled the regal, was then considerably weakened; and the people's rights proportionably increased. Here we have the first epocha of a manifest democracy in Rome.

Before the assembling of the people for the election of a consul, Valerius ordered a census. *A census.* One hundred and thirty thousand citizens, exclusive of widows and orphans who paid no taxes, appeared upon the roll.

At length the people, assembled by centu- *The people* ries, chose for colleague to Valerius, Spurius Lu- *chuse a col-* cretius, father of Lucretia, to whom, as being *league to* the elder, he gave the first place with the fasces, *Valerius.* a respect which was ever after paid to the prerogative of age. But Lucretius dying in a few days, the people chose in his room Marcus Horatius, who compleated the rest of the year with Publicola. Nothing remarkable happened Liv. 1. 2. but the dedication of the capitol, placed in this c. 8. year by Livy. When the temple was finished, *Dionys.* and fit to be opened for public resort, the *l. 5. p. 304.* dedication was to be performed, a ceremony very *Plut. in.* honorable to the dedicator, whose name was *Poplic. p.* placed in the front of the temple. Publicola *204.* expected that honour, and greatly desired it, but it was not thought proper to give his colleague that mortification, So they drew lots,

distinguish them from the others, who were termed Urbani. The number was greatly increased afterwards, as will be seen.

* A contraction of Populicola. The name of Publicola (or Poplicola) though less just, has prevailed.

which

A.R. 245.
Ant. C.
507.

which fell to Horatius. Publicola went upon a slight expedition against some troops that had made an incursion upon the Roman territory. On the day appointed for the dedication, there was a great concourse of people at the capitol. Horatius, after the rest of the ceremonies were performed, was ready to finish the consecration by the most solemn act, which was, to lay his hand on the side-post of the gate (*a*). The spectators with religious silence observed his motions, and he was going to pronounce the solemn prayer of consecration, when Marcus Valerius, brother of Publicola, who had stood a good while in the temple-gate to watch that instant, said aloud to him; *Horatius, your son is dead in the camp*; hoping by the news to stop his proceeding. The consul, without any concern, coldly replied, *Let him be buried*: whether he believed it a device of his enemies, as it really was, or had the strength of mind to keep his natural temper without being moved at such an accident, remembering he was there as Pontifex Maximus, and not as father, and making nature give way to religion (*b*). This was a very childish and unbecoming device at so august a ceremony.

First treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians.

Polyb. l. 3
p. 176.

Polybius informs us, that this year, the first after the expulsion of the Tarquins, and twenty-eighth before Xerxes's invasion of Greece, was made the first treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians. I shall insert it here as a very curious monument of antiquity. Polybius gives it in Greek, translated from the original

(*a*) Postem teneri in dedicatione templi oportere, videor audisse. *Cic. in erat pro domo sua*, n. 121.

(*b*) Ne patris magis quam pontificis partes egisse videretur. *Val. Max. l. 5. c. 10.*

Latin as exactly as he could. “ For, says he, <sup>A.R. 245.
Ant. C.
507.</sup> the Latin tongue of those days is so different from the modern, that the most learned find it very difficult to understand that old language.”

*Between the Romans and their allies, and between the Carthaginians and their allies, there shall be alliance on these conditions : Neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the Fair Promontory *, unless driven by storm, or forced by their enemies : in which cases they shall not be allowed to buy or take any thing but what shall be absolutely necessary for the refitting of their ships or the worship of the Gods ; and they shall depart at the end of five days. The merchants that shall come from Carthage shall pay no duty except what is paid to the crier and register. Whatever shall be sold before these two witnesses, the public faith shall be surety to the seller ; so likewise for whatever shall be sold in Africa or Sardinia. If any Romans land in that part of Sicily subject to the Carthaginians, they shall have justice done them. The Carthaginians shall forbear making waste upon the Antiates, the Ardeates, the Laurentini, the Circæans, the Taracini, or any Latin nation in subjection to the Roman People †. They shall do no injury there even to the cities not under the Roman dominion. If they shall take any one, they shall deliver it up unhurt to the Romans. They shall build no fortress in the country of the Latines ; and if they enter it in arms, they shall not stay the night.*

This treaty, the simplicity and preciseness whereof are so remarkable, shows that among the Romans many applied themselves to com-

* This promontory, situate to the east of Carthage, was about ten leagues distant from thence.

† The nations or cities here mentioned lay along the sea-coast, and covered Rome on that side.

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merce, that navigation was not entirely unknown to them, that the use of merchant-ships was common, and that they made pretty long voyages, since they went as far as Carthage. It shows also how advantageous the alliance of the Romans was to the neighbouring nations, since it protected them from the inroads of enemies so formidable as the Carthaginians, who, being masters of the sea and part of Sicily, could easily infest the sea-coasts of Italy (1).

A.R. 246.
A.D. C.
506.

The next year had for Consuls

P. VALERIUS PUPPLICOLA, a second time *.

TITUS LUCRETIVS, the first time.

*Porfena
undertakes
to restore
the Tar-
quins.*

Liv. l. 2.
c. 9, 10.

Dionys.
l. 5. p. 253.

After Tarquin had lost the battle wherein his son Aruns was killed, fighting with Brutus, he withdrew to Clusium in Hetruria to Lars Porfena (2), the most potent King then in Italy. There, mixing intreaties with advice, “ one

(1) *The author of the Dissertation on the uncertainty of the first five centuries of the Roman history observes, that this treaty not only is omitted by all the other historians, but also contradicts them in many particulars. For instance, Horatius is made Consul with Brutus: Antium and Ardea are supposed in subjection to Rome, directly contrary to Livy and Dionysius. Moreover, the Carthaginians are said to be in possession of part of Sicily and also of Sardinia; whereas Livy places their first expedition into Sicily in the year of Rome 324, about eighty years after this treaty. It is hence evident that the Romans had sailed by way of commerce into Africa and*

other parts, of which these historians are entirely silent. From all these particulars the author of the Dissertation infers the negligence or ignorance of the Roman historians, in that they did not or could not consult these ancient authentic pieces: but only copied from Fabius Pictor, without examination; and therefore will have it, that little credit is to be given the history for the first five hundred years.

* *In the sequel I shall only mark with Roman figures if the Consuls have been so twice, thrice, or four times, thus, II, III, IV.*

(2) *Lars is said to signify, in the Hetrurian language, Prince or Lord.*

“ while

“ while he implored him not to suffer a Prince, ^{A.R. 246,}
 “ who gloried in being of Hetrurian extracti- ^{Ant. C.}
 “ on, to languish with his family in a mourn- ^{506.}
 “ ful exile and dishonourable indigence; ano-
 “ ther while he exhorted him not to leave unre-
 “ venged the growing custom of expelling
 “ Kings from their throne. He would behold
 “ all the cities shaking off the yoke of depen-
 “ dence, unless Kings showed the same zeal and
 “ vigour in defence of their power, as the cities
 “ did for procuring liberty. All advancement,
 “ all superiority, offended their jealous ambi-
 “ tion: it was every where sought to level the
 “ highest with the lowest, and to extirpate roy-
 “ alty, the glory of heaven and earth.” Por-
 fena, touched with this discourse, and moreover
 incited with jealousy against a nation, whose
 power he saw daily increasing, and which really
 gave him uneasiness, promised Tarquin his ut-
 most assistance.

This was for him a powerful refuge, and for
 the Romans a just ground of alarm. Porfena's
 reputation was great, and his forces considera-
 ble. Besides, the Senate was under as great ap-
 prehensions from the citizens themselves, as from
 the enemies. They were afraid the populace,
 to prevent the unavoidable effects of war, would
 be inclined to recal the Tarquins, and purchase
 peace at the expence of liberty. The Senate
 therefore endeavoured to gain the People by
 granting them all possible relief. Above all things,
 care was taken of provisions, and corn was sent
 for from several parts, and sold to the People at
 a low rate. The tax upon salt was taken from
 those that farmed it and sold the salt at a high
 price, in order to be managed for the future by
 commissioners in the name of the state. The
 customs were taken off, and the poor exempted

A.R. 246.
Ant. C.
526.

from all imposts which were laid upon the rich ; and it was declared sufficient for the poor to bring up children who in time might defend the commonwealth (a). These were wise measures : but would have been more so, had they been taken in a time of peace and tranquility. They had all the effect that was expected. During the siege, and in spite of a famine, which was very severe, there was no commotion in the city : all remained quiet : the meanest as well as the greatest persisted to abhor the name of King, and never after did any single person appear so popular by indirect ways as the whole Senate was at that time by a just and equitable administration (b).

Brave
action of
Cocles.

Porfena, who had in vain sent some proposals to the Senate for the restoration of the Tarquins, marched at the head of the army, attacked the Janiculum, which he took by assault, and immediately advanced towards Rome ; persuaded he should easily reduce it. When he came to the bridge, and saw the Romans drawn up in order of battle before the river, he prepared to fight, reckoning to overpower them with numbers. The two armies being engaged, fought with great bravery, and long contended for victory. After a great slaughter on both sides, Valerius and Lucretius being wounded, the Romans began to give ground, and were quickly put to rout. All fled into the city over the bridge, which at the same time would have afforded a passage to the enemies, if Rome had not found in the heroic courage of one of her citizens a bulwark as strong as the highest walls.

(a) Pauperes, satis stipendii solvere, si liberos educarent. *Liv.*

(b) Ut nec quisquam unus

malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quam tum benè imperando universus Senatus

fuit. *Liv.*

P. Horatius

P. Horatius was the man, surnamed *Cocles*, because he had but one eye, having lost the other in a battle. He was the strongest and most undaunted of the Romans. He sprung from M. Horatius, so famous for the defeat of the three Albans.

He used all manner of means to stop the flying Romans. But perceiving neither intreaties nor exhortations could overcome their fear, he resolved, however badly followed he might be, to defend the entrance of the bridge till it was demolished behind. Only two Romans followed his example, and partook of the danger. Nay, when he saw but a few planks of the bridge remaining, he obliged them to retire and to save themselves. Standing alone against a whole army, but preserving his undauntedness, he even dared to insult his numerous enemies, and casting terrible looks upon the principal Etrurians, one while challenged them to single combat, and then bitterly reproached them all. *Vile slaves that ye are of proud and haughty Kings*, said he to them, *not satisfied with being unmindful of your own, you are come to deprive others of their liberty, who have had the courage to assume it* (a). Covered with his buckler, he sustained a shower of darts. At last, when they were all preparing to rush upon him, the bridge was entirely demolished, and Cocles throwing himself with his arms into the Tyber, safely swam over, having performed an action, says Livy (b), that will command the admiration more than the faith of posterity. He was received as in triumph by the Romans. The People erected

(a) *Servitia regum superbiorum, suæ libertatis immemores, alienam oppugnatum venire. Liv.*

(b) *Rem ausus plus famæ habituram ad posteros, quàm fidei.*

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him a brazen statue in armour in the most conspicuous part of the Forum *. As much land was given him as he could surround with a plough in a day (1). All the inhabitants, both men and women, contributed to his reward; and, in the midst of a dreadful scarcity, three hundred thousand heads, of which the city consisted, depriving themselves of a part of their subsistence, every one made him a small present of provisions (a).

Liv. l. 2.
c. 11—14.
Dionys.
l. 5. p. 297
—304.
Plut. in
Poplic. p.
106.

Porfena's first attempt failing, he besieged the city, and began to ravage the neighbouring lands. The loss of above five thousand men in a sally, wherein the Consuls had laid an ambush for his troops, determined him to change the siege into a blockade, in hopes of reducing the city by famine. Indeed the scarcity was very great, and the provisions that came by the Tyber were not sufficient for the subsistence of the city much longer.

Bold enter-
prize of
Mucius
Scaevola.

A second prodigy, no less surprising than that of Horatius Cocles, freed it from its imminent danger. C. Mucius, a young nobleman, full of indignation to see that Rome, in a state of liberty, should be in a worse condition than under the Kings, formed a design to free his country from that dishonour by a new and bold enterprise. He goes into the enemy's camp, with the Senate's permission, intimating he had some great project in view, but without any farther explanation. He deceives the guards, who take him for an Etrurian, because he appeared to be without arms, and spoke the lan-

* In the places where the assemblies were held, called for that reason Comitium.

(1) Agri quantum unodie circumaravit datum. Liv.

(a) In magna inopia, pro domesticis copiis, unusquisque aliquid, fraudans se ipse victu suo, contulit. Liv.

guage of the country, which he had formerly ^{A.R. 246.} learnt of his nurse. He advances to the King's ^{Ant. C. 506.} tent, who, attended by a secretary dressed like himself, was paying his troops. Mucius, not caring to ask which was the King for fear of a discovery, and seeing the soldiers address themselves oftener to the secretary, resolved at last, and stabbed the secretary with a dagger instead of the King. He is instantly seized notwithstanding all his resistance, and dragged before the tribunal of the enraged King : but even then, in the sight of a thousand horrible punishments which threaten him, he appears with an undaunted countenance, more capable of inspiring terror than of feeling it himself: *I am a Roman, says he, my name is Mucius. I intended to kill the enemy of my country ; and am as ready to suffer death as I was to give it thee. It equally becomes a Roman both to act with courage and to suffer with constancy. I stand not alone in the design against thee. Many others after me aspire to the same honour. And therefore prepare thyself for continual alarms, expect every moment to run the risk of thy life, to find always at the door of thy tent a secret enemy watching an opportunity to attack thee. This is the war the Roman youth denounces against thee. Fear not a general battle. Thou alone wilt be attacked, and a single enemy is all thou hast to deal with (a).*

(a) Ante tribunal regis destitutus, tum quoque inter tantas fortunæ minas metuendus magis quam metuens: Romanus sum, inquit, civis. C. Mucium vocant. Hostis hostem occidere volui: nec ad mortem minus animi est, quàm fuit ad cædem. Et facere & pati fortia Romanum est. Nec unus in te ego hos animos gessi. Longus post

me ordo est idem petentium decus. Proinde in hoc discrimen, si juvat, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo, ferrum hostemque in vestibulo habeas regio. Hoc tibi juvenus Romana indicimus bellum. Nullam aciem, nullum prælium timueris. Uni tibi, & cum singulis, res erit. *Liv.*

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The King, full of rage, and withal astonished at the danger threatened by Mucius, commands him to be surrounded with flames to force him to a fuller confession. But the Roman without any concern; *See*, says he, putting his hand in a pan of burning coals, *See how despicable is their body to men who seek after immortal glory (a)*. He let his hand burn on, as if he had been without feeling. But Porfena, amazed at the sight of such a prodigy, leaps down from his tribunal, and ordering Mucius to be removed from the fire, *Be gone*, says he, *young man, more enemy to thyself than me. I would exhort thee not to degenerate from such virtue, hadst thou used it for my country. At least, I suffer thee to go away in liberty, without fear of the punishment which the laws of war give me a right to inflict on thee*. Then Mucius, as in acknowledgment for his generosity, told him, three hundred youths had conspired against him: he was the first on whom the lot fell, and the rest would come each in his turn. This action acquired Mucius the surname of *Scævola* *, because after burning his right hand he made use of his left. Dionysius Halicarnassensis, an historian generally very exact, says not a word of this circumstance, which renders it very doubtful. It has been however extremely celebrated by the Romans, and every

(a) En tibi, inquit, ut sentias quam vile corpus sit iis qui magnam gloriam vident; dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo injicit. Quam cum velut alienato ab sensu torreret animo; propè attonitus miraculo rex, cum ab sede sua profiluisset, amoverique ab altaribus juvenem jussisset: Tu verò abi, inquit,

in te magis quàm in me hostilia ausus. Juberem macte virtute esse, si pro mea patria ista virtus staret. Nunc jure belli liberum te, intactum, inviolatumque hinc dimitto.

* The word Scævola, is taken from the Greek σκαίος, lævus.

one knows the beautiful epigram of Martial upon this event.

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Cùm peteret regem decepta satellite dextra,
Injecit sacris se peritura focis.

Sed tam fæva pius miracula non tulit hostis,
Et raptum flammis jussit abire virum.

Urere quam potuit contempto Mucius igne,
Hanc spectare manum Porfena non potuit.

Major deceptæ fama est & gloria dextrae.

Si non errasset, fecerat illa minus.

That is,

The brave band, that instead of the King himself by mistake slew his officer, feared not to thrust itself into flames. But his generous enemy could not bear the prodigy of so cruel a fortitude, and snatched the young hero from the danger he sought. That band which Mucius, contemning the flames, suffered with unconcern to burn, Porfena could not bear to behold. Its fame and glory is the greater for having missed its aim. Without that mistake, it would not have acted so heroically.

These and so many other encomiums lavished upon Mucius by the Roman authors, ought not to impose on us in the judgment we should pass upon an action contrary to all the laws of war ; and even the example of several illustrious Romans ; among others, that of Fabritius, who warned King Pyrrhus to take care of his physician that intended to poison him, expressly condemns Mucius's undertaking. Nevertheless, the partiality apparently of the Romans for their country, and a sort of enthusiasm for the *marvellous* part of the action, made them to extol in a Roman what they would have blamed in an enemy of Rome. The undauntedness and firmness of Mucius are in themselves very praiseworthy :

A. R. 246. worthy : but their motive and object render
Ant. C. them very criminal.
506.

Porfena Porfena, intimidated by the danger he had
makes so lately escaped, and by the terror of those to
peace with which he conceived himself every day exposed,
the Ro- began to think seriously of making peace. He
mans. caused conditions to be proposed by embassa-
dors, who set out for Rome with Mucius. At
first, merely for form sake, they demanded the
re-establishment of the Tarquins ; but, after the
first refusal, insisted no longer on that point.
They reduced their demands to this ; that the
Romans should restore to their master a certain
territory, which had originally depended on
the Hetrurians, and which had been taken from
them by force of arms ; and that, by way of
security for their faithful observance of their
engagements, they should put into the King's
hands a certain number of young persons of the
most noble families of Rome. These condi-
tions were accepted with joy.

Bold
action
of Clælia.

As soon as the hostages were delivered, Por-
fena made his troops march out of Janiculum.
Those hostages were twenty in number ; ten
young Patricians, and as many virgins of the
same order. Amongst the latter was Clælia,
descended from one of the principal houses of
Rome. The honours with which she had seen
the merit of Cocles and Mucius rewarded, in-
spired her with thoughts of deserving the
like. For this purpose she ventured to swim
the Tyber at the head of her companions, and
with them re-entered Rome in a kind of tri-
umph. Valerius, who apprehended that he
should be suspected of forwarding this escape,
and that the boldness of those virgins might be
taken as a perfidy of the Romans, sent them
back immediately to Porfena. Tarquin, who
had

had been apprized of this affair, posted him-^{A. R. 246.}
 self expressly on the way, and would have^{Ant. C. 506.}
 seized them, if not prevented by the accidental
 coming in of Aruns, the King of Clusium's
 son, who guarded them to the camp. The
 King, who knew how to value merit, where-
 ever he found it, gave young Clœlia great
 praises, and, as a mark of his esteem, made
 her a present of a fine horse richly caparisoned;
 and permitted her to return, and carry with her
 half of the hostages to be chosen by herself.
 She made that choice in a manner that did her
 honour: she gave the preference to the youngest,
 as most exposed to danger by their years. Por-
 senna, struck with the many shining actions of
 which he had been witness, could not forbear
 extolling the happiness of a city, which not
 only produced so many great men, but even
 young persons of the other sex, who disputed
 the merit of courage with them. He restored
 all the prisoners to the Romans, of whom he
 had taken a great number, without any ransom.
 And as a farther mark of his generosity, he
 gave them his camp with all the riches *and pro-*
visions in it, ordering his troops to leave be-
 hind them all their baggage except their arms,
 and did the same himself. Thus ended the
 war with Porsenna King of the Clusini in He-
 truria, in which the Roman Commonwealth
 had been itself upon the very brink of de-
 struction.

We see here in Porsenna a perfect model both
 for war and peace. He does not arm either
 from ambition, avarice, or any other personal
 interest. The motives that determine his con-
 duct are great and glorious: compassion for a
 dethroned Prince; fidelity to a friend and ally;
 the common interest of crowned heads; the
 support

A. R. 246.
Ant. C.
506.

support of the majesty of Kings ; and the necessity of avenging its disgraces and injuries. When he has discharged with all his forces the faith of his engagements, he entertains thoughts of peace, which the impossibility of succeeding in his first design has rendered necessary. He confines himself to reasonable conditions, without artifice, without endeavouring to over-reach, and without taking advantage of the unhappy extremities to which his enemies are reduced. After having made a fair war with them, he is for making a fair peace, that may be lasting, sincere and commodious. From enemies he is for making them true and perpetual friends, without leaving any seeds for new ruptures, and bad retrospects, which sometimes happens ; as if treaties of peace were rather suspensions of arms, and truces between enemies ready to renew hostilities, than sincere reconciliations, and cordial engagements of amity.

When the army of the Hetrurians was retired, the Senate assembled, and it was resolved that the ivory chair, sceptre, crown of gold, and robe of triumph, formerly used by the Roman Kings, should be sent to Porfena, as a mark of honour and gratitude. To acknowledge the service of Mucius, who had generously devoted himself to death for the preservation of his country, and thereby made way for a happy peace, as much land was granted him, as well as to Horatius Cocles, on the other side of the Tyber *, as a plow would work in one day ; which lands were afterwards called *the meadows of Mucius*. Young Clœlia had also her reward, which was as singular as the action by which she had deserved it. An equestrian statue was erected to her in the street called the

* Agri quantum uno die circumaravit datum, *Liv.*

Via sacra, leading to that part of the Forum A.R. 246.
Ant. C.
506. where the assemblies were held; and the fathers of the virgins her companions, who had shared in her glory, were at the expence of it.

These honours granted to Cocles, Scævola, and Clœlia, argue a spirit in the Roman People, attentive to place virtue in honour, to inspire the citizens with a lively zeal for their country, and to cultivate a noble emulation in all who were capable of serving it.

Porfena, after having terminated the war Obliging
behaviour
of the Ro-
mans to the
subjects of
Porfena.
Liv. l. 2.
c. 14.
Dionys.
p. 304. with the Romans, sent his son Aruns to besiege Aricia. He had at first considerable advantages over the besieged. But upon the arrival of a strong reinforcement, a battle ensued, where in the young Prince was killed. The army of the Hettrurians could not maintain their ground after the death of their General, but were obliged to give way. Some were killed in their retreat, and the rest fled for refuge into the territory of Rome, which was in the neighbourhood. The Romans received them in their flight, dressed their wounded, gave horses to some, put others into waggons, carried them to Rome, lodged them in their houses, and furnished them with provisions and remedies: in a word, they supplied them with every thing their present occasions required. Many were so charmed with these kind offices, that they lost all desire of returning home to their own country, and chose rather to remain with those from whom they had received so many favours. The Senate assigned them ground between mount Palatine and the Capitol, upon which they built themselves houses; and that place was called the street of the Hettrurians. Porfena, in gratitude for the kind reception which the Romans had given his troops, restored them the lands on the other side of the Tyber, which
had

A.R. 246.
Ant. C.
506.

had been yielded to him by the late treaty of peace.

A.R. 247.
Ant. C.
505.

P. LUCRETIUS *.

P. VALERIUS PUBLICOLA, III.

Porsena sent ambassadors this year to Rome, to solicit the re-establishment of the Tarquins, to whom he could not refuse that proceeding. The Senate deputed the most illustrious of their body to represent to him, “ that the affair of
“ the Tarquins was a matter entirely and irre-
“ vocably determined, and that the Romans
“ were resolved to open their gates to any of
“ their enemies rather than to Kings. They
“ entreated him not to interrupt any more the
“ perfect union that subsisted between himself
“ and the Romans, by a demand that laid them
“ under the unhappy necessity of refusing a
“ Prince any thing, to whom, both by grati-
“ tude and inclination, they were highly dispo-
“ sed to grant all things. They concluded
“ with desiring that he would be pleased to
“ bury that affair in perpetual silence for the
“ future.” He made that choice; and Tarquin, having lost all hopes of re-ascending the throne, retired to Mamilius Octavius his son-in-law at Tusculum.

* *Instead of Lucretius, Dionysius Halicarnassensis writes history of Porsena and the dedication of the Capitol in this time, and places the whole*

C H A P. III.

War with the Sabines. Death and praise of Publicola. Different wars. Conspiracy discovered at Rome. Troubles at Rome in respect to the debts : The people refuse to list for the war. Creation of a Dictator. He appeases the troubles. Truce for a year with the Latines. Reflection upon the Dictatorship. Decree in respect to the women. War with the Latines. Famous battle near the Lake of Regillæ, gained by the Romans. Peace granted the Latines. Tarquin retires to Cumæ, and dies there.

Several years passed without any considerable events, except the war with the Sabines. I shall content myself with only naming the Consuls of each year.

SP. LARTIVS.
T. HERMINIVS.

A.R. 248.
Ant. C.
504.

P. VALERIVS.
P. POSTUMIVS.

A.R. 249.
Ant. C.
503.

The war with the Sabines began this year, and continued a great while at different times, and with different success.

P. VALERIVS, IV.
T. LVCRETIVS, II.

A.R. 250.
Ant. C.
502.

A Sabine, called in his own country Atta Liv. l. 2. Clausus, and who assumed the name of Appius Claudius at Rome, a person of high birth and great riches, came to settle amongst the Romans, and brought with him a great number of his relations, friends, and creatures, who followed

A.R. 250.
Ant. C.
502.

lowed him with their whole families. Their number amounted to five thousand men capable of bearing arms. His having openly opposed, in the public assemblies of his nation, the design they had formed of making war with the Romans, had rendered him suspected, and at length obliged him to quit his country. He was made a Patrician, and admitted into the number of the Senators, and the freedom of the city was granted to all who had followed him. The Romans considered this adoption of the whole family of the Claudii and their clients, as a very advantageous acquisition, that supplied them immediately with so many new instruments for extending their power and greatness. Claudius was in his own person a considerable gain to Rome. He was the head of the family of the Claudii, who distinguished themselves amongst the most illustrious families of Rome.

A.R. 251.
Ant. C.
501.

AGRIPPA MENENIUS.
P. POSTUMIUS *.

*Death and
Praise of
Publicola.*
Dionys.
l. 5. p. 314.
—340.
Liv. l. 2.
c. 16.
Plut. in
Poplic.
p. 109.

In their Consulship P. Valerius Publicola died of disease. He was, by the consent of all the world, the greatest man of his age, and the most accomplished in every kind of virtue. I shall mention only one of them here, far superior to all his most glorious exploits, of war. This Roman, so worthy of praise, who supported

* *These two Consuls triumphed for successes against the Sabines. But because the Consul Postumius had suffered a loss at first, a new kind of Triumph, called Ovation, less honourable than the usual one, was invented and decreed for him. Kennet in his Antiq. Part II. B. 2. c. 16. gives us the following account of this less kind of Triumph.*
“The Ovation some fancy to have derived its name from shouting Evan! or E-voe! to Eacus; but the true ori-

ported by three other Patricians, had delivered Rome from her Kings, and caused their estates to be sold by auction; who had been four times Consul; who by two signal victories, the one over the Hetrurians, the other over the Sabines, had twice in his latter years deserved the honour of triumph; who, with such favourable occasions, might have amassed great riches by methods exempt from injustice and reproach, did not suffer avarice, so capable of dazzling the eyes and corrupting the heart, to ensnare him. Contented with the moderate fortune he had received from his ancestors, he used no en-

A.R. 251.
Ant. C.
501.

“ original is Ovis, the sheep,
“ which was usually offered
“ in this procession, as an ox
“ in the triumph. The show
“ generally began at the Alba-
“ nian mountain, whence the
“ general, with his retinue,
“ made his entry into the ci-
“ ty: he went on foot, with
“ many flutes, or pipes, sound-
“ ing in concert as he passed
“ along, wearing a garland
“ of myrtle as a token of peace,
“ with an aspect rather rais-
“ ing love and respect than
“ fear. A. Gellius informs
“ us, that this honour was
“ conferred on the victor,
“ when either the war had
“ not been proclaimed in due
“ method, or not undertaken
“ against a lawful enemy,
“ and on a just account; or
“ when the enemy was but
“ mean und inconsiderable*.
“ But Plutarch has delivered
“ his judgment in a different
“ manner: he believes that

“ heretofore the difference be-
“ twixt the ovation and the
“ triumph was not taken
“ from the greatness of the
“ achievements, but from
“ the manner of performing
“ them; for they who having
“ fought a set battle, and slain
“ a great number of the ene-
“ my, returned victors, led
“ that martial and (as it
“ were) cruel procession of the
“ triumph. But those who
“ without force, by benevo-
“ lence and mild behaviour,
“ had done the business, and
“ prevented the shedding of
“ human-blood, to these com-
“ manders custom gave the
“ honour of this peaceable
“ ovation. For a pipe is the
“ ensign or badge of peace,
“ and myrtle the tree of Ve-
“ nus, who beyond any of the
“ other deities, has an ex-
“ treme aversion to violence
“ and war †.”

* Noct. Att. l. 5. c. 6.

† Plut. in Marcol.

A. R. 251.
Ant. C.
501.

deavours to augment it. He believed that he had enough for bringing his family up nobly, and for giving his children an education worthy of their birth : convinced that true riches do not consist in possessing great treasures, but in knowing how to have few wants ; and (a) that the most precious and most noble inheritance that a father can give his children is glory acquired by great actions, and the examples of virtue which he leaves them. He did not content himself, like many of the philosophers, with praising poverty : he loved and practised it to such a degree, as not to leave wherewithal to defray his funeral at his death ; which was celebrated with magnificence, but at the expence of the public. *Moritur, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumptus deesset : de publico est elatus.* What praise, what greatness of soul was this ! *He dies, poor as the poorest in respect to fortune ; more great, more rich, than the richest in virtues and glory.* What a misfortune is it for our age, that examples of this kind are so rare, or rather not at all ! The greatest men endeavour to preserve their memories by titles and riches, which they ardently pursue, in order to leave them to heirs, who are often little qualified to keep them alive and represent them.

The Roman ladies renewed in respect to Publicola what they had done before for Junius Brutus, and went all into mourning, which they wore during a year, as much affected with his death as they would have been with that of their nearest relation.

(a) Optima hæreditas à patribus traditur liberis, omni-
que patrimonio præstantior, gloria virtutis rerumque gestarum. *Offic. l. i. n. 151.*

We scarce find examples of the like zeal elsewhere. At Rome, private persons did not divide their interests from those of the public. They considered the losses of the state as their own. They shared in its misfortunes, as if they had been personal and domestic to themselves. Such a disposition constituted the force of the State, united all its parts firmly together, and composed an whole not to be shaken and invincible. These sentiments, perpetuated in every house by living examples, formed the whole city and commonwealth of Rome in a manner into one and the same family, of which even the women made a part, though strangers to government every where else. How much ought we to think This contributed to inculcate the same sentiments early into children, and to form them for zealous citizens from their most tender years! This is what most merits observation in the constitution of the Roman commonwealth, because what formed its peculiar and distinguishing characteristic.

A.R. 251.
Ant. C.
501.

OPITER VIRGINIUS.
SP. CASSIUS.

A.R. 252.
Ant. C.
500.

These Consuls gained considerable advantages over the Sabines, took the city of Pometia, which they abandoned to be plundered by the soldiers, and received the honour of a triumph.

In the six following Consulships, wherein there seems no small difference between Dionysius Halicarnassensis and Livy, I shall follow the first, according to the system laid down by Mons. de la Curne in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, wherein, by only transposing some facts, he very happily reconciles those two historians.

Different wars.

Vol. VIII.
P. 363.

A.R. 253.

Ant. C.

499.

Dionys.

l. 5. p. 316,

317.

POSTUMUS COMINIUS.

TITUS LARTIUS.

The Latines, at the solicitation of Octavius Mamilius, Tarquin's son-in-law, held an assembly at Ferentinum, to which, contrary to the usual custom, the Romans were not invited. M. Valerius, a person of Consular dignity, who had been deputed to the neighbouring states to prevent any intrigues against the commonwealth, repaired to that assembly, and complained strongly of their having excluded only Rome from it. Notwithstanding his remonstrances, the Romans were declared infractors of Treaties in it, and it was agreed to deliberate another time, and more at leisure, upon the measures to be taken for obtaining justice.

The same year was discovered a conspiracy of the slaves for setting Rome on fire. They were put to death.

A.R. 254.

Ant. C.

498.

Conspiracy
discovered
at Rome.

Dionys.

l. 5. p. 317.

---323.

SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

MANIUS TULLIUS.

The Fidenates, solicited and supported by the Tarquins, took arms. The Consul Tullius set out with his army to chastise them, and besieged Fidenæ. But the news of a conspiracy, excited by the secret intrigues of Tarquin, obliged him to return to Rome. It was composed, not only of citizens reduced and ruined by debts, but of a great number of slaves, whom resentment for the punishment inflicted upon the others the year before, and the hope of liberty, had induced to enter into the same plot. It was happily discovered by the peculiar favour of the Gods *, says Dionysius Halicarnassensis,

* *The providence of the preserved Rome from a thousand dangers, and which is still*

T. LARTIUS, L. CLOELIUS, Consuls. 245

carnassensis, and stifled in its birth by the execution of its ringleaders. Sacrifices were made to thank the Gods for preserving the commonwealth from this danger. The Senate afterwards decreed the celebration of games for three days.

P. VETURIUS GEMINUS.

T. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.

A. R. 255.
Ant. C.
497.

Veturius besieged Fidenæ, but finding it likely to make a long resistance, he changed the siege into a blockade.

Dionys.
l. 3. p. 323.
324.

Tarquin besieged Signia, a town in subjection to the Romans; but not being able to take it either by assault or famine, he was at length reduced to retire.

T. LARTIUS.

LUCIUS CLOELIUS.

A. R. 256.
Ant. C.
496.

The Consul Lartius desiring to put an end to the war with the Fidenates, took the field, and, after a long resistance, forced them to surrender.

Dionys.
l. 5. p. 324.
—340.

When the Latines received advice of the reduction of Fidenæ, they were seized with terror, which was succeeded by the general indignation of the People against their Leaders, who had hitherto always opposed their design of a rupture with the Romans. In the council soon after held at Ferentinum, those who were for taking arms, inveighed with great violence against such as seemed inclined to peace. Tarquin amongst the rest, and his son-in-law Mamilius, between their intrigues and declamations, had such weight, that all the Latines una-

War with
the La-
tines.

still watchful for its safety, are the terms of Dionysius
averted this misfortune. These Halicarnassensis.

R 3

nimously

A.R. 256.
Ant C.
596.

nimously resolved upon a war with the Romans. And in order that no distinct State might withdraw itself from the general alliance, and make a separate peace without the concurrence of the whole nation, they all engaged by solemn oaths to observe a strict union with each other, and to treat all who should fail in that point as traitors and enemies to the public. The States, whose deputies signed that treaty, were thirty in number. Sextus Tarquinius and Octavius Mamilius, who were declared generals of the army of the allies, were impowered to raise as many troops as they should judge necessary, out of the youth of those States. In order to observe some outward formality, and to have a plausible pretext for taking arms, the Latines deputed the principal persons of each city to carry their complaints of the pretended infraction of treaties to Rome, and to demand immediate satisfaction for them, with menaces, in case of refusal, to attack the Romans with all their forces. Such a discourse was considered as an open declaration of a rupture.

*Troubles
at Rome,
on account
of the debts.
The People
refuse to
list for the
war.*

Whilst preparations of war were making, and the levies were begun at Rome, new difficulties arose, which occasioned great perplexity. The whole People were far from having the same ardor for this war. The poor, especially those not in a condition to pay their debts, who were far the greater number, refused to take arms, and would not consent in any thing to the desires of the Patricians, unless the Senate passed a decree for the abolition of their debts. Some even threatened to quit Rome, and exhorted each other not to continue any longer in a city where injurious treatment and oppression were the only rewards of their services.

At

At first the Patricians endeavoured to appease and bring them to reason. But as their exhortations were ineffectual, it was thought necessary to assemble the Senate, in order to deliberate upon measures for preventing the tumult, with which the city was menaced. Never was deliberation more important, nor more difficult in its nature. Opinions were divided. Of the Senators, some who were naturally inclined to gentle methods, and not so rich as many others, were of opinion that some relaxations should be granted in favour of the poor. They believed, that to remit their debts, was purchasing the good will of the citizens at a small expence; and that the great advantages that would accrue from thence to the public and individuals, would make an ample amends for so small a loss. M. Valerius, Publicola's brother, opened this opinion.

“ He remonstrated, that nothing was
 “ heard in the Forum, but discourses of the
 “ poor, expressing their indignation to each
 “ other to the following effect : *To what pur-
 “ pose is it for us to conquer our enemies abroad,
 “ if in reward of victory, we find nothing at our
 “ return but cruel creditors, a thousand times
 “ more to be dreaded than the enemies of our coun-
 “ try; and if after having secured the dominion
 “ of the Commonwealth, we cannot assure our-
 “ selves of our own liberty?* He observed how
 “ much reason there was to apprehend, if the
 “ aversion of the People for the Senate were not
 “ remedied, that they would not only proceed
 “ to abandon the city in its greatest danger,
 “ but also, which merited more attention, that
 “ their despair might throw them into the par-
 “ ty of the Tarquins, and make them conceive
 “ thoughts of reinstating them upon the throne.
 “ That hitherto the People had employed only

A.R. 256.
Ant. C.
496.

“ menaces without proceeding to bad extremes ;
 “ and that on the present occasion, it was neces-
 “ sary to have some indulgence for them, to
 “ prevent greater evils. That the Common-
 “ wealth of Athens, in a like conjuncture on
 “ the remonstrances of Solon, had remitted all
 “ the debts, with which the poor were burthen-
 “ ed. That it would be glorious to ease in the
 “ same manner their fellow-citizens, who had
 “ rendered the Commonwealth such great ser-
 “ vices under the kings by defeating the enemy ;
 “ who had shewn so much ardour and courage
 “ in delivering their country from the cruelty
 “ of the tyrants ; and who were ready to sacri-
 “ fice themselves with more zeal than ever in
 “ return for the least complaisance for their
 “ present condition. That lastly, they ought
 “ to reflect, that it would be unjust to insist,
 “ that the citizens should expose their lives,
 “ whilst the slightest relief was denied them :
 “ especially as they could only be reproached
 “ with their poverty, which had rendered them
 “ more worthy of compassion than hatred.”

This discourse of Valerius was received by many with applause. But Appius Claudius, a man naturally cruel and violent, a character which he transmitted to all his posterity, was of a quite different opinion. He represented,
 “ That the Senate could not with justice refuse
 “ the benefit of the laws to creditors, who
 “ thought fit to prosecute their debtors with
 “ rigour. That the debts of particulars could
 “ not be abolished without destroying public
 “ credit, the sole tie of human society. That
 “ the People themselves, in whose favour so
 “ unjust a decree was solicited, would be the
 “ first to experience its bad effects ; and that,
 “ as new wants would arise, the rich would
 “ shut

“ shut their purses, and undoubtedly be averse A.R. 256.
 “ to advancing their fortunes as before, for Ant. C. 496.
 “ setting the husbandman and artist to work,
 “ at the hazard not only of making no advan-
 “ tage of them, but of losing their principal.
 “ That the discontent of the great was no less
 “ to be feared, than the murmurs of the Peo-
 “ ple. That for the rest, some medium might
 “ be used, and a difference made with regard
 “ to the debtors. That as for such of them,
 “ who should be found to have ruined them-
 “ selves by libertinism and debauch, it would
 “ be no great loss if they should all quit Rome,
 “ to which they were a disgrace and reproach.
 “ That as to the rest, it was but just to afford
 “ them some relief. That the creditors, who
 “ could easily make this distinction, would act
 “ very commendably in having some indulgence
 “ for the unfortunate, who had not drawn their
 “ distresses upon themselves ; and who would
 “ be the more obliged to their benefactors, as
 “ their favour would be the meer effect of their
 “ compassion and liberality. That it did not
 “ consist with the equity of the Commonwealth
 “ to grant general releases of debt equally for
 “ the benefit of the good and bad, and to give
 “ away what did not belong to it, by its own
 “ authority. That it was at least necessary to
 “ leave proprietors the merit of disposing freely
 “ of their own fortunes, and not to envy them
 “ the right they would have, in consequence, to
 “ the gratitude of their debtors. As to the se-
 “ dition which they apprehended, that the means
 “ to excite it, was to shew fear in acquiescing
 “ and giving way ; that exerting authority
 “ would spread terror, and that one or two
 “ examples of severity would awe the muti-
 “ nous,

A.R. 256.
Ant. C.
496.

“ nous, and reduce them to return to their
“ duty.”

Several other opinions were also proposed. That which took place was, that the Senate should determine nothing in respect to the subject of the present debate, till the war was happily terminated : That then the Consuls should lay this affair before the Senate again, and that in the mean time all proceedings in respect to debts should be suspended. This decree neither satisfied the People, nor appeased the tumult. The poor, who naturally affect openness and simplicity, suspected these evasions, and believed they discerned a design in them to abuse their credulity ; and as they did not rely in the least upon the faith of the Senate, they were persuaded that its sole view was to deceive them by these artificial delays.

The Senate were in great perplexity. The Latines, a powerful and warlike nation, were preparing to take the field. The People seemed determined not to bear arms. The Senators had not sufficient authority to compel their obedience, and dared not employ punishments against the refractory, because the law passed by Valerius Publicola gave them power to appeal to the People from all the ordinances of the Consuls. The most certain method for restoring their ancient authority to the Senate, had been to abolish this law : but that was not possible. To prevent the opposition which the People would not have failed to have made, had they openly attacked their privileges, the Senate resolved to introduce a magistrate, whose power should be monarchical, and superior to all laws, but of short duration. For this purpose, they passed an artful decree, whereby they deceived the People, and without their perceiving it, abolished

bolished the law in favour of their liberty. It was conceived in these terms : “ That Lartius “ and Cloelius, who were then Consuls, should “ abdicate their power, and, by their example, “ all persons whatsoever in the administration “ of the public affairs. That there should be “ but one magistrate. That he should be cho- “ sen by the Senate, and confirmed by the “ voices of the People, and that his power “ should not exceed the term of six months.”

A.R. 256.
Ant. C.
496.

The People, who did not comprehend all the consequences of this new decree, made no difficulty to come into it; and though an office of this nature was repugnant to the usual rules and limitations, they left the choice of a proper person to fill it up to the care of the Senate.

This new institution was of great utility with respect to the success of affairs, and always afforded an immediate and effectual resource, as well against the seditious enterprizes of the People, as in the imminent dangers of the State from the enemy. It had fatal effects in the latter times of the Commonwealth : but what is there that the corruption and malignity of mankind does not abuse ?

The question now was to choose a Chief capable of sustaining the whole weight of the government alone. The present affairs of the Commonwealth made extraordinary talents necessary in the person who was to rule it with absolute power. This required a man of wisdom and resolution, one of great experience in military affairs, and of a moderation which was proof against the excesses, into which fullness of power often leads. Above all a general was wanted, who knew how to maintain discipline in all its vigour, and who had constancy of mind to make himself obeyed by the seditious. All these qualities

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Ant. C.
496.

qualities were thought to unite in T. Lartius, and his colleague did not want merit. The Senate decreed, that one of the two Consuls should nominate the new magistrate, which was always observed for the future; and, in consequence of a second deliberation, that in the present conjuncture he should nominate his colleague. The Consuls, in whose power it was to determine between themselves, which of the two was most worthy of the sovereign authority, observed a conduct highly superior to the usual manner in which men think and act on such occasions, and which became the object of the public admiration. Neither the one nor the other could be prevailed upon to believe, that he deserved the preference to his colleague. They passed the whole day in mutually giving each other their voices for the office, whilst neither would accept it. The assembly being dismissed, the relations and friends of the two Consuls, and the principal Senators repaired to Lartius's house, where they remained till * night, conjuring him not to oppose the wishes of the public. Overcome by their earnest remonstrances, he at length consented that his colleague should nominate him Dictator: For so that supreme magistrate was called, or at least that name was the most celebrated, and the most used. The true name appears to have been *Magister populi*.

Lartius** was the first Roman since the institution of Consuls, who had the sole government

* From this circumstance L. Papirium Dictatorem dixit.
perhaps came the custom of declaring the Dictator in the night; it is often mentioned in Livy. Lib. iv. c. 21. lib. viii c. 23. l. 9. c. 38. Nocte deinde silencio, ut mos est,
** Livy mentions him also as the first Dictator, but three years sooner, and in his first Consulship. Lib. ii. c. 18.

of the commonwealth, with unlimited power to determine in respect to war and peace, and to decree without appeal concerning all other affairs. As soon as he was declared Dictator, he chose Sp. Cassius general of the horse, who had been Consul the 252d year of Rome. That magistrate was called *Magister Equitum*, relatively to the name of *Magister Populi*. He was the Dictator's lieutenant, but subject to his orders as well as the rest of the citizens, and like them in awe of the Dictator's rods and axes.

Lartius judged it proper to give at first an high idea of the office with which he had been invested, and of the sovereign authority annexed to it. He made the Lictors resume the axes, which had been joined with the rods in the time of the Kings, and which Valerius had caused to be removed during his Consulship, in order to render the authority of the new government the more popular. He doubled their number, and made twenty-four Lictors walk before him, carrying those marks of authority, rather with design to awe the seditious than to make use of them. So formidable an appearance produced the effect he expected (*a*). The people, seized with terror at the sight of those rods and axes carried before the Dictator, became far more docile and submissive than they had been hitherto. It was no longer as under the Consuls, whose authority was equal, and from one of whom recourse might either be had to the other, or appeals from their decrees to the People.

(*a*) Creato Dictatore primum Romæ, postquam præferri secures viderunt, magnus Plebem metus incessit, ut intentiores essent ad dicto parendum. Neque enim ut in Consulibus, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium, neque provocatio erat, neque ullum usquam nisi in curia parendi auxilium. *Liv. l. 2. c. 18.*

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496.

There was no resource now but instant obedience.

After having imprinted respect and dread in the minds of the most turbulent by the majesty of this train, which differed in nothing from that of the Kings, he caused the *Census* (or muster) of the People to be made, according to the order instituted by Servius Tullius, and renewed by the first Consuls. The number of the citizens above the age of sixteen amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand seven hundred men.

He then separated the old men from those who were capable of bearing arms; and of the latter formed four bodies of horse and foot. The first, which were the flower of the army, he reserved to himself; and permitted Clœlius, who had been his colleague, to chuse that of the other three which he thought fit to command. The third he gave to Spurius Cassius, general of the horse; and put his brother Spurius Lartius at the head of the last, to continue at Rome with the old men for the defence of the city.

When every thing was in readiness for the war, he took the field, and posted the three armies at the passes through which he believed the Latines might enter the Roman territory.

Convinced that it was the duty of an able general, not only to strengthen himself, but to weaken the enemy as much as possible, and to direct his measures so as to terminate wars without battle if that could be done, and with shedding as little blood as possible; Lartius believed it better to put an end to this by the method of negotiation, than by that of arms. He secretly deputed persons of confidence to the most considerable of the Latines, in order to conciliate them to pacific views. At the same time he
sent

sent embassadors to all the cities to treat openly of peace. By this conduct he had made some progress in mollifying that people. But the moderation which he shewed soon after, entirely gained him their amity, and alienated them from the chiefs who had induced them to take arms. Mamilius and Sextus, whom the Latines had constituted Generalissimos of their forces, had appointed the general rendezvous at Tusculum, in order to march from thence to Rome. But, as they deferred moving a great while, whether in expectation of the succours of some cities slow in furnishing their contingents, or that the omens and auspices were not favourable, part of the army detached itself, and ravaged the country of the Romans. Lartius, who received advice of this, ordered Clœlius to march against them with the chosen troops of the horse and light-armed infantry. The latter falling in with the enemy when they least expected him, took them all prisoners, except a small number of the bravest, who were killed making resistance. Clœlius carried them to the Dictator, who received them with great marks of benevolence. He caused the wounded to be taken care of, and without any ransom sent them all to Tusculum, with an embassy composed of the most illustrious of the Romans, who were so successful in their negotiation, that the army of the Latines retired, and the nation concluded a truce with Rome for one year.

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496.

*Truce of a
year with
the La-
tines.*

The campaign thus terminated, the Dictator led back his army to Rome, and before the expiration of his office, nominated Consuls, and abdicated his authority, without having acted with the least violence or rigor in respect to any Roman citizen whatsoever.

This

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Ant. C.
496.
*Reflection
upon the
Dictator-
ship.*

This wise and moderate conduct of Lartius in an office of unlimited power, which often changes and corrupts the best disposition, gives Dionysius Halicarnassensis occasion to make a very judicious reflection, which ought not to be omitted. He observes, that the example set by the first Dictator, was afterwards followed by all his successors in that office down to almost an hundred years before the end of the commonwealth. Historians (1) mention no Dictator defective in point of lenity and moderation, though the commonwealth was often obliged to divest the usual magistrates of power, in order to confide all authority to a single person. If Dictators had never been created but for the defence of their country against a foreign enemy, it would be less surprizing that being employed abroad they did not abuse their power. But in domestic troubles, when seditions were either to be quelled, the State to be delivered from citizens that aspired at the tyranny, or measures to be taken against an infinity of other dangers which threatened the commonwealth, that not one of the persons invested with unlimited power should ever give occasion for reproach, or depart from the path marked out for him by the first Dictator, is a very exalted praise of the Roman commonwealth.

A.R. 256.
Ant. C.
495.

A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
M. MINUCIUS.

Nothing considerable either at home or abroad happened under these Consuls. The truce made with the Latines gave the troops time to respire,

(1) *L. Manlius Imperiosus* *gour and violence.* Liv. l. 7.
may be excepted, who rendered c. 3.
himself very odious by his ri-

and the decree of the Senate which prohibited creditors to molest their debtors till the end of the war, had put a stop to the murmurs of the poor.

A.R. 257.
Ant. C.
495.

The Senate passed a decree at this time, which seemed extraordinary enough. It was, that the Latine women who had married Romans, and the Roman women who had married Latines, should have liberty to continue with their husbands, if they thought fit, or return into their country. In respect to the children it was ordained, that the boys should remain with their fathers, and the unmarried girls follow the fortune of their mothers. A great number of these marriages had been contracted between the States, neighbours as they were, and united as well by alliance as their common origin. The women, mistresses of their choice, shewed how grateful their residence at Rome was to them. Almost all the Roman wives, who had entered into engagements in the different cities of the Latines, quitted their husbands to return to their country; and all the Latines settled at Rome, except two, renounced their country to continue with their husbands.

Decree concerning the women.

AULUS POSTUMIUS.

TITUS. VIRGINIUS.

A.R. 258.
Ant. C.
494.

War with the Latines.

The truce made for a year with the Latines expired this year. Great preparations were made on both sides for the war, and the extraordinary efforts employed gave reason to judge, that the battle which was upon the point of ensuing, would decide the fate of the two people. In such a conjuncture it was thought necessary at Rome to lodge all authority in the hands of a single person. The Consul Virginius declared

Famous battle near the lake of Regillæ gained by the Romans.

Dionys.
l. 6. p. 342.
—358.
Liv. l. 2.

A.R. 258.
Ant. C.
494.

his colleague Aulus Postumius Dictator, who chose T. Æbutius Elva general of the horse.

The two armies soon took the field, and posted themselves at no great distance from the lake of Regillæ. That of the Romans consisted only of twenty-four thousand foot, and three thousand horse : that of the Latines amounted to forty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Sextus Tarquinius commanded the left wing of the Latines, and Octavius Mamilius the right. Titus, another of Tarquin's sons, commanded the main body, at the head of the exiles, and of those who had voluntarily preferred the party of the Tarquins to their country. (According to Livy, Tarquin the elder in person, aged at that time ninety, commanded the center ; which is scarce probable). The cavalry was divided into three bodies, of which two were posted in the wings, and the third in the center. In the Roman army, T. Æbutius, general of the horse, had the left, the Consul Virginus the right, and the Dictator Postumius commanded the main body.

The army of the Romans, as we have seen, was much inferior to that of the enemy : but, when they perceived that the Tarquins were at the head of the Latines, that sight transported them with fury, and seemed to have doubled their force, in enflaming their courage by their hatred for the Tyrants. It was no longer possible to delay the battle ; besides which, the Dictator had been apprised, that the enemy expected a considerable re-inforcement. It was therefore necessary to give the signal. Never was battle more obstinate and bloody. The generals did not content themselves with giving orders : they engaged in person ; and had the greatest share in the dangers. All of them at-
tacked

tacked each other body to body, and, except A.R. 258.
Ant. C.
494. Postumius, those who did not fall, came off very dangerously wounded.

The Dictator who was in the center with the flower of the cavalry, at first made that of the enemy commanded by Titus, Tarquin's second son, give way, who received a wound in his shoulder with a javelin. As it was necessary to carry him out of the press, his absence made those he commanded lose courage, and entirely damped their ardor. The Romans, taking advantage of their consternation, pushed them vigorously, and put them to flight. Sextus, Tarquin's other son, perceived it, and detached the chosen cavalry to support them: upon which they rallied, resumed courage, returned to the charge, sustained the attack of the Romans, and fought with fresh vigour. It appears that Titus returned soon after.

On another side, there was a rude encounter between Æbutius, general of the Roman cavalry, and Mamilius that commanded the Tusculans, who had long sought each other with their eyes, in order to engage. With lance in hand they pushed their horses against each other with such impetuosity, that Æbutius was run through his arm, and Mamilius received a wound across his cuirass. The former not being able to use his lance any longer, was obliged to quit the battle: the other, after having retired for some time into the second line, returned soon after to the charge without regard to his wound; and seeing his troops in disorder, made the cohort of the Roman exiles commanded by Titus advance. As they breathed nothing but vengeance against enemies who had deprived them of their fortunes and country, they re-initiated the battle in some measure. At that instant Vale-

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496.

rius, one of Æbutius's lieutenants, and brother of the illustrious Publicola, perceiving Tarquin, who shewed himself at the head of the exiles with haughtiness and defiance, and being willing to acquire his family the honour of killing, as well as that which it had already of expelling, the Tarquins, he spurred his horse full speed against him, in order to pierce him through with his lance. Titus, to avoid the charge of so formidable an enemy, fell back into his troops. Whilst Valerius followed him with inconsiderate ardour, he was mortally wounded with a javelin, and fell from his horse. The battle grew hot round his body, where a terrible slaughter ensued. At length Publius and Marcus, the sons of Publicola, carried off their uncle from the enemy, and sent his body to the camp by their attendants. Animated with the same fire, they rallied as many of their troops as they could, and both charged into the thickest of the press, where they fell with a thousand wounds.

The Dictator seeing that the left wing, discouraged by the loss of their leaders, and vigorously attacked by the exiles, began to give way and fly, ordered a detachment of horse to move to the rear of the left wing to stop those that fled, and to treat such as refused to obey as enemies. The Romans in consequence returned with new ardour to the fight. The Dictator at the same time, followed by the chosen troops which he had with him, fell upon the body of exiles with such vigour, that he broke them, bore down all before him, put them to flight, and killed great numbers of them. Titus very probably was killed at this time.

Mamilius, the Latine general, perceiving
their

their disorder, flew to their aid with a great detachment of the reserved troops. Hermi-
A.R. 258.
Ant. C.
494.
 nius, the Lieutenant-General, knew him by his arms and habit, and spurring his horse against him with his utmost fury, laid him dead with his lance. But whilst he was intent upon taking his spoils, he received a wound with a javelin himself, in the dressing of which he expired a moment after.

Sextus Tarquinius still kept his ground on the left wing of the Latines, and had made the Romans give way on their right, when the Dictator arriving unexpectedly with a body of horse, Sextus believed himself irretrievably lost. In his despair he threw himself furiously upon the Romans ; and killed all before him on the right and left, till surrounded on all sides, and covered with a thousand wounds, he fell dead on the field of battle, after having sold his life very dear.

The Latines, seeing themselves without leaders, fled in disorder, and abandoned their camp to the Romans, where the latter found considerable spoils. They felt this loss, which was the greatest they had ever sustained till then, long after. Of forty thousand foot and three thousand horse, of which their army consisted, scarce ten thousand men remained in a condition to return home.

As the ancients always gave the marvellous a share in great events, it is said that two young horsemen, of a more majestic form and mien than usual, shewed themselves to Postumius and his followers : that they marched at the head of the Roman cavalry, piercing all the Latines that came in their way with their javelins, and putting the rest to flight. The same authors

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add, that in the evening after the gaining of the battle, and the taking of the camp, the same horsemen appeared at Rome in the Forum, as they had been seen in the Roman army, with all the air of persons returned from a battle, fatigued and covered with sweat and dust. That when they dismounted their horses, they gave advice of the victory, and that after they had related exactly in what manner all things had passed, they disappeared. The next day letters arrived from the Dictator, who informed the Senate and People of the success, and mentioned particularly the miraculous assistance, which the Gods in person had given the army. It was not doubted but that those gods were Castor and Pollux. Accordingly a magnificent temple was afterwards erected to them. Livy says nothing of so marvellous a fact, except that the Dictator in the heat of the action, vowed a temple to Castor. And in reality, though this edifice was built in honour of the two brothers, it bore only the name of Castor*.

The day after the battle the auxiliary Troops, sent by the Volsci to the aid of the Latines, arrived not far from the lake of Regillæ. When they were informed of what had happened, they returned back faster than they came, reproaching themselves with a delay, which had perhaps occasioned the defeat of their allies.

* Upon this circumstance a witty jaying of Bibulus in Suetonius is founded. He had been created *Ædile* with C. Cæsar, and having been at the joint expence of games with him to gratify the people, Cæsar however had all the honour of that magnificence ascribed to him. This gave him occasion to say pleasantly, that he had the same fate as Pollus: that all the merit of this festival had been given to Cæsar, in the same manner as only Castor was mentioned in respect to the temple erected to the two brothers. Suet. in vit. Cæs. c. 10.

The

The Dictator on his return to Rome with his victorious army, had the honour of a triumph. A great number of carriages laden with arms and other spoils, and five thousand five hundred prisoners taken in the battle preceded his chariot. With the tenth of the spoils he celebrated games and offered sacrifices, the expence of which amounted to forty talents (forty thousand crowns) a very considerable sum for those times.

Some days after the return of the army, the Commonwealth of the Latines sent ambassadors to Rome, chosen out of all the cities who had opposed the last war. They appeared there with olive branches in their hands, and in all the equipage of suppliants. When they were introduced into the Senate, “ they began by
 “ laying upon the chiefs of the nation the cause
 “ of the war, in which the States were no other-
 “ wise criminal, than for having suffered them-
 “ selves to be led by bad guides, who had
 “ no views but to their private interest. They
 “ represented that they had been severely pu-
 “ nished for a forced obedience by the loss
 “ which all their cities had sustained of the
 “ flower of their youth; a loss so general, that
 “ there was not a family in them exempt from
 “ mourning. They earnestly demanded, that
 “ the Romans would favourably accept the
 “ submission of the whole country, and its de-
 “ votion to their service. They declared, that
 “ for the Latines to affect their ancient inde-
 “ pendance, and to maintain the rights and pri-
 “ vileges of which they had hitherto been jea-
 “ lous, was no longer the question. That they
 “ offered themselves to the Romans, to be for
 “ the future the inseparable companions of all

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“ their enterprizes, with entire subordination to
“ their commands ; and that they should see
“ without regret all the glory, of which fortune
“ had deprived them, transferred to the
“ Romans.”

When they withdrew, the affair was taken into consideration. The Senate had great cause to be dissatisfied with the Latines. They had been the first in breaking the union and alliance, and this was not the first time they had failed in point of faith. Some therefore inclined to severity, and believed it necessary to make an example of them. But the great principle of the Roman policy, which was to make friends of conquered enemies by treating them with kindness and clemency, almost always prevailed against the bad reasons, and too narrow views of certain particulars. However they contented themselves, for the present, with granting the Latines peace ; and, to make them the more sensible of their fault, and give them time to make amends for it by a serious repentance, they were made to demand and wait some time before a treaty of alliance was granted them. When the ambassadors were brought in the second time to receive the answer of the Senate, the Dictator told them : *You deserve to experience the just effects of our anger, and to see all the evils you intended us, if you had been successful in your projects, fall upon your own heads. But clemency has more weight with the Romans, than the desire of revenge. We have not forgot that the Latines are our relations, and are more affected with their present repentance, than their past faults. Return therefore to your cities with this answer. When you have deliver'd up our deserters, and driven the exiles from amongst you, you will return to treat of peace with us.*

The

The embassadors went home full of joy. Orders were immediately given for all the exiles to quit the Latine cities, and to release all prisoners. Some days after, they returned to Rome, carrying with them all the deserters in chains it had been possible to seize. The Roman People, satisfied with their submission, granted them peace and their alliance. Thus ended the war with the Tyrants, which had continued fourteen years from their expulsion.

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King Tarquin, who was the only surviving person of his family at almost ninety years of age, seeing himself childless, and without relations, disgusted with the Latine states, the Hetrurians, Sabines, and all the neighbouring people, retired to Cumæ in Campania to the tyrant Aristodemus.

That prince had certainly great talents. His address in engaging so many princes and states for his re-establishment ; the public works with which he adorned Rome ; his courage in war ; his constancy under his misfortunes ; a war of fourteen years duration, which he made with the Roman People, though deprived of his kingdom and all his fortunes ; the continual resources which he knew how to find in his disgraces ; all evidently prove that he had great qualities. But his ambition, pride, and cruelty, rendered him the just object of the public hatred and detestation.

He died (a) worn out with years and disgust. He saw himself in a strange city, alone, abandoned, inconsiderable, and without conso-

(a) Cumas se contulisse di- & ægritudine esse confectus.
citur, in eaque urbe senio Cic. 3. *Tusc.* n. 27.

lation ;

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lation (a) ; discovering, said he, the infidelity of friendship. But such complaints ill-suited him. Besides that the (b) generality of the rich and great, if they have friends, have them only for shew and ostentation ; has a tyrant who loves none but himself, a right ever to pretend to have real friends ? (c) He must have sycophants, who by base adulation hurry him from vice to vice, who in the counsels they give him never deviate into speaking their opinion, and only contend with each other, who shall succeed best in deceiving him most agreeably.

The news of Tarquin's death occasioned great joy at Rome both to the Senate and People : but the principal persons of the city made a strange abuse of it. They (d) had hitherto acted with great moderation and equity with respect to the multitude, for fear they should recall the Tarquins. As soon as they saw themselves delivered from that terror, they began to treat them in a very haughty and unjust manner,

(a) Tarquinius dixisse ferunt, tum, cum exul esset, se intellexisse quos fidos amicos habuisset, quosque infidos, cum jam neutris gratiam referre posset. *De amicit. n.* 56.

(b) Non in amicitia, sed in apparatu habent. *Senec. de brevit. vit. c. 7.*

(c) Non vides quemadmodum illos in præceps agat extincta libertas, & fides in obsequium servile submissa, dum nemo ex animi sui sententiâ suadet dissuadetque, sed adulandi certamen est,

& unum amicorum omnium officium, una contentio quis blandissimè fallat. *Senec. de Benef. l. 6. c. 30.*

(d) Regibus exactis, dum metus à Tarquinio, & bellum grave cum Etruria positum est, æquo & modesto jure agitatum. Dein, servili imperio patres plebem exercere ; de vita atque tergo regio more consulere ; agro pellere ; & ceteris expertibus, soli in imperio agere. *Salust. in fragm. ex Augustino de Civit. Dei, l. 2. c. 18.*

arrogating to themselves all authority in the government, and leaving the People no part of it whatsoever. The creditors especially exercised such rigour, or rather cruelty over the debtors, as occasioned a general discontent in the city, and prepared the multitude for an open rupture.

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Ant. C.
494.

Postumius having abdicated the Dictatorship, the election of Consuls came on, and Ap. Claudius was chosen with P. Servilius.

C H A P. IV.

War with the Volsci. New troubles. Upon the promise of the Consul Servilius, the citizens list. The Volsci are defeated and punished severely. Servilius triumphs notwithstanding the opposition of the Senate. Troubles more violent than ever. Valerius is appointed Dictator. He defeats the enemy. Not being able to obtain a decree for remitting the debts of the People, he abdicates the Dictatorship. Retreat of the People to the Sacred Mountain. Reconciliation of the Senate and People. Institution of the Tribunes of the People : then of the Plebeian Ædiles. Reflections upon the conduct of the Senate.

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AP. CLAUDIUS.
P. SERVILIUS.

*War with
the Volsci.*
Liv. l. 2.
c. 22, 26.
Dionys.
l. 6. p. 361.
—367.

THE Volsci, informed of what passed at Rome, believed the conjuncture favourable for resuming their arms, which they had not laid down without regret. Whatever good treatment they might have received from the Romans, they could not bear to see themselves subjected to their power, and believed it essential to their honour to throw off a foreign yoke. They began by bringing over the Hernici. They then sent deputies to the Latines, to engage them also in their party. But the latter, to whom the remembrance of their late defeat near the Lake of Regillæ was a good lesson, without regard to the law of nations, delivered up the ambassadors to the Romans, and gave them advice, that the Volsci and Hernici were making preparations of war in concert. This service

was

was so agreeable to the Romans, that they immediately restored to the Latines the six thousand prisoners, which they had at Rome; and the affair of the treaty of alliance, which seemed entirely desperate, was brought again upon the carpet, and referred to the decision of the next Consuls. This was great matter of joy to the Latines, and they were never weary of praising those who had given them so salutary advice. They sent a crown of gold to the Capitol as an offering to Jupiter. Many of the prisoners, who had been released at Rome, accompanied the ambassadors, and dispersed themselves into the different parts of the city, where they had been slaves, thanking their masters for their good treatment of them during their captivity, and demanding to enter into a stricter union with them by the rights of hospitality, and particular friendship. Hitherto they had been refused an alliance properly so called. Never did the union of the Latines with Rome appear more sincere, tender and cordial, than on this occasion.

The war with the Volsci, which seemed certain and near, was the least evil Rome had to fear. The discord which had for some time been silently gaining ground within the city, and began now to break out, was one of a far more dangerous nature. What made way for it, was, as I have already observed, the cruel and inhuman manner, in which the creditors treated their debtors, who were not in a condition to pay them, and for that reason were delivered into their hands. They kept them prisoners, laid them in irons, and inflicted all kinds of severities upon them. These unfortunate citizens, if they happened to escape from prison, made all places resound with their complaints, and held

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New troubles. Upon the promise of the Cons. Servilius, the citizens list. The Volsci are defeated and punished severely.

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held in public, discourses entirely capable of moving compassion, and exciting the spirit of revolt. One of them, of a great age, went into the Forum in the most wretched and deplorable condition imaginable. His cloaths were filthy and torn, his face pale and wan, and his body lean and feeble. A long beard, with hair neglected and in disorder, compleated the hideousness of his figure. Through all his uncouth outside he was however known and whispered about for a Centurion, who had acquired many military rewards by his valour. Himself shewed the honourable wounds he had received in different battles. As the multitude throng'd about him, and he was asked how he came to be in the miserable condition in which he appeared : he replied, “ That his land having been ravaged during the war with the “ Sabines, in which he served, he had not only “ lost its productions for a year, but his “ farm had been burnt, all his effects plundered, and his cattle carried off. That to add “ to his misfortunes, the payment of a tax had “ been exacted from him, at a time when he “ had no money, and had been obliged to borrow : that interests rising upon interests, he “ had first been obliged to sell his land, and “ afterwards all that he had ; that at length “ the disease had spread itself to his body, and “ involved his person. That his creditor had “ carried him prisoner to his house, where he “ had treated him, not as a slave, but as a “ condemned criminal.” In saying this he bared his back, and shewed the still recent marks of the rods and whips with which he had been tortured.

Upon seeing and hearing this, a great outcry was raised. The tumult spread into all quarters

quarters of the city. All who either were, or had been delivered up to their creditors, appeared in public, and implored the aid of the People. The crowd encreased every moment. Multitudes repaired from all the streets to the Forum with furious shouts. Such of the Senators as happened to be there, would have been in great danger of being killed, if the Consuls had not hastened thither to appease the tumult. The whole multitude immediately turned towards those magistrates. The poor debtors shewed them their chains, a sad reward for the years they had served their country in arms. They demanded, rather with menaces than the air of suppliants, that they should assemble the Senate, and they crouded around the place where the council was to be held, in such a manner as if they intended to determine the deliberation their own way by force.

A small number of the Senators, whom chance had brought thither, joined the Consuls : fear prevented the rest from appearing not only in the Senate but even in the Forum ; so that there was not a sufficient number for entering upon deliberation. That excuse did not serve the multitude. They renewed their clamour, and cried out, that the Senators were absent not through chance or fear, but expressly, and in concert amongst themselves, in order to elude their demand ; that the Consuls themselves did not act with sincerity, and that it was plain, both insulted their misery. The dignity and power of the Consuls were in danger of being no longer regarded, and the People were upon the point of proceeding to the utmost violences, when the Senators, not knowing whether it would not be as dangerous for them to stay at home, as to appear, arrived at
the

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the Senate. When each had taken his place, the affair in question was proposed.

Whilst the Senate was deliberating, and much divided in opinion, a courier arrived from the Latines, with advice, that the Volsci had taken the field with a numerous army, and were advancing towards Rome. This news produced effects very different in the Senate, and amongst the People, so much progress had discord already made, that of one city it had in a manner formed two opposite and almost enemies to each other. “ The populace exulted with joy, and said loudly, that the gods avenged the pride of the “ Senators. They exhorted each other not to “ give in their names for the war. That if “ they must perish, let them not do so alone, “ but rather with all the citizens. That the “ Senators might take arms, and march against “ the enemy ; it being but just that they should “ experience the dangers of war, who engrossed “ all the rewards of it.”

The Senate, in so difficult a conjuncture, having no less to fear from the citizens than the enemy, were in great perplexity. They desired the Consul Servilius, who was of the milder and more popular disposition of the two, to use his utmost endeavours to conciliate the People, and to bring them back to their duty. Servilius, having dismissed the Senate, repaired to the assembly. “ He declared that whilst the “ Senate had been deliberating upon the interests of a part of the city, considerable indeed, but however only a part, (he meant “ the People) a far more serious subject of fear “ had intervened, which regarded all Rome “ and the whole Commonwealth. That the “ enemy being almost at their gates, it was not “ possible to apply to any other affair. That “ though

“ though that were not the case, it would nei- A.R. 259,
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 “ ther become the People not to have taken 493.
 “ arms for the defence of their country, till
 “ they had been paid beforehand for their ser-
 “ vice ; nor be for the honour of the Senate,
 “ to seem to have taken pains for the relief of
 “ the citizens only through fear and against
 “ their will, and not out of inclination and
 “ choice. That when the campaign was over,
 “ the interests of the People should be taken
 “ into serious consideration.” In the mean
 time, he passed a decree for suspending all pro-
 ceedings in respect to debts till the end of the
 war.

He then took the *Census*, or muster, of the
 citizens. The number above sixteen years of
 age, amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand
 seven hundred men. They not only gave in
 their names for the service without difficulty or
 repugnance, but with joy and ardor. How-
 ever violent and outrageous the People may
 be, they comply with what is reasonable, when
 treated with mildness and justice.

Servilius set out with his troops. When he
 arrived near the enemy, the soldiers, and espe-
 cially the debtors (I call those by that name
 who were actually under suit for their debts) de-
 manded eagerly to be led on to battle. The
 Consul, after having delayed some time, to try
 and whet their courage, seeing their ardor aug-
 ment, at length gave the signal. Never did
 soldiers shew more valour and intrepidity.
 The Volsci in consequence, however vigorous
 their resistance, could not long sustain so rude
 a charge, and at length fled. The Romans
 pursued them to their camp, which the Volsci
 soon abandoned. The plunder of it was given
 to the soldiers, who enriched themselves with it.

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The Consul marched the next day to Sueſſa Po-
 metia, whither the enemy had retired. The
 Volſci defended themſelves there for ſome days
 with great obſtinacy, as they knew they had no
 quarter to expect. The place was carried by
 ſtorm, and plundered by the troops : all who
 were of age to bear arms were put to the ſword.
 The Conſul returned with great glory to Rome.

Appius, who had remained there, in order
 to intimidate other ſtates from violating the faith
 of treaties, as the Volſci had done, gave orders
 on his ſide for a bloody execution. The three
 hundred children, who had been given as hoſta-
 ges, were brought into the Forum. After
 they had been ſcourged with rods, they were all
 beheaded. This example of rigour might be
 neceſſary to terrify the neighbouring People
 and to keep them within the bounds of their
 duty ; and they were generally not ſcrupulous
 in breaking the alliances which they had made
 in times of adverſity and miſfortune : but ſo ex-
 ceſſive a ſeverity as this is very little removed
 from cruelty and barbarity, and ill ſuits the Ro-
 man character. Livy accordingly, always at-
 tentive to preſerve the glory and reputation of
 his country, makes no mention of it.

*Servilius
 triumphs
 notwith-
 ſtanding
 the oppo-
 ſition of the
 Senate.*

Servilius well deſerved the honour of a tri-
 umph after ſo ſucceſſful an expedition. But
 Appius, his colleague, jealous of his glory, ac-
 cuſed him in the Senate of having made himſelf
 too popular, and in particular of having diſtri-
 buted all the ſpoils, which were very conſidera-
 ble, to the ſoldiers, without reſerving any thing
 for the public treaſury. A triumph was there-
 fore reſuſed him. Servilius, highly ſenſible of
 that affront, aſſembled the People in the field
 of Mars, and after having given an account of
 the battle and victory which he had lately ob-
 tained,

ained, and complained of his colleague's envy, and the injustice of the Senate, he set forward in the triumphal habit towards the Capitol, whither all the People followed him with incessant acclamations of joy. He was the first that triumphed notwithstanding the opposition of the Senate: which, on one side extremely incensed the Patricians against him; and on the other rendered him more agreeable than ever to the People.

The same Servilius marched soon after, first against the Sabines, who had made some incursions into the territory of Rome, and afterwards against the Aurunci, both of whom he defeated with no great difficulty.

The People, after so many victories gained in so short a time, demanded the execution of the promises made them by the Consul and Senate. Appius, both from his natural violence of disposition, and in resentment to his colleague, in order to make void the promise the latter had made the People, adjudged the causes of the debtors according to the utmost rigour of the law; in consequence of which they were delivered up to their creditors as before, and suffered the most cruel treatment. They implored the aid of the other Consul, under whom they had served so usefully; and shewing him the wounds which they had received in several battles, they pressed him to lay their request before the Senate. Servilius, not to exasperate his own order, whom he saw almost unanimous against them, used evasions, and protracted the affair. This policy, as usually enough happens, was prejudicial to himself. In endeavouring to please both sides, he gave both offence. The Senators considered him as an easy soft Consul, that flattered the multitude, and the People, as

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More violent troubles than ever.

Liv. l. 2.
c. 27---33.
Dionys.
l. 6. p. 367
---411.

a. R. 249.
 311. C.
 - 3.

a light man, and a deceiver; and it soon appeared, that he was no less hated than Appius.

A dispute arose between the Consuls concerning the dedication of the temple of Mercury, which each of them pretended to be his right. The Senate referred the cognizance of that affair to the People, who gave that honourable commission to a private officer named Lætorius, less in favour of a man who was not of a rank to pretend to that august function, than to humble and mortify the Consuls.

This affront put Appius and his whole cabal into a fury. But the multitude had taken courage, and acted quite differently than they had done at first. Not expecting any aid from the Consul, or the Senators, they referred themselves no longer to any but themselves for it. When a debtor was brought to the tribunal to be tried, they thronged thither from all parts. When the Consul passed sentence, they raised such cries and clamour, that it could not be heard; and nobody dared put it in execution. Danger and fear changed sides, and went over to the creditors, who were insulted before the Consul's face.

In this conjuncture a war with the Sabines menaced Rome. A decree passed for levying troops: but none offered themselves for the service. Appius became furious, and complained loudly of the soft complacency of his colleague, who, by a popular silence, betrayed the commonwealth; and, to his first prevarication, which had prevented him from rendering justice in respect to the debts, added a second no less criminal, in not making the levies decreed by the Senate. He added, "That the common-
 " wealth however should neither remain entire-
 " ly without defence, nor the Consular dignity
 " without

“ without force. That he should try whether
 “ himself alone could not sustain his own au-
 “ thority and the honour of the Senate.”

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But the boldness of the People, encouraged by impunity, continually augmented. Appius ordered a remarkable ringleader of the sedition to be seized. The Lictors had already laid hold of him, when he appealed from the sentence. The Consul, foreseeing aright what the People's judgment would be, would not comply with the appeal, and seemed absolutely determined to proceed without regard to it. But at length he suffered himself to be overcome, less by the seditious cries of the People, than the wise remonstrances and authority of the principal Senators. The evil however became more serious. The multitude confined themselves no longer to meer outcries : but, what was of a far more pernicious tendency, they retired into particular places in order to hold secret assemblies. The Consuls at length quitted their office, both much hated by the People. Appius was extremely in favour with the Senate, whereas Servilius was esteemed by neither of the two parties. A. Virginus and T. Veturius were elected their successors.

A. VIRGINIUS.
 T. VETURIUS.

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The multitude now, in their uncertainty how the new Consuls would act, began to hold nocturnal assemblies, partly on the Esquiline and partly on the Aventine hills, in order to concert the measures it might be necessary to take as occasions should offer, and to avoid the confusion and suspense, with which sudden resolutions are almost always attended. The Consuls perceiving how pernicious the consequences of

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these assemblies might become, made their report of them to the Senate. The suffrages could not be collected in order, so much tumult and clamour arose on this representation against the Consuls, who, instead of reforming so great an abuse, as their office required, were for riding themselves of the odious part of it, by transferring it to the Senate. They were reproached with their weakness. *Are you magistrates*, said they? *Were you really so, we should not see these frequent consultations held on the Esquiline and Aventine hills. One man of prudence (for such an one we want, who is undoubtedly of far more weight than a Consul) such a man as Appius, would have put an end to all these assemblies in an instant.* After this reprimand, the Consuls asked, what the Senate would have them do; and assured them that they should not want resolution to execute their orders. They were answered, that it was necessary to make the levies with all possible severity: that the populace were only bold and insolent because they wanted employment.

The Senate being dismissed, the Consuls ascended their tribunal, and cited the younger citizens to list by name, but none of them made any answer. They were told, “That the People would not suffer themselves to be imposed upon; and that they should not have a single soldier, if they did not keep the promise that had been made them. That before they put arms into their hands, it was necessary to restore each man his liberty, that they might know whether they were to fight for their country and fellow citizens, or for cruel and merciless lords or masters.” The Consuls well knew what the Senate had directed them to do: but of all those bold haranguers, who

who had talked so high within the walls of their house, where they ran no risque, not one appeared to support and share the danger with them ; and it was evident that they were upon the point of experiencing a rude conflict with the People. Before they proceeded to the last extremities therefore, they judged it proper to consult the Senate a second time, and repaired to them directly. The young Senators then thronged around them, and treating them as unworthy of their office, bade them, with insults, abdicate an authority they wanted capacity to sustain. The Consuls were very brief in their reply. *That you may not plead ignorance, Fathers,* said they, *we inform you, that you are upon the point of seeing a terrible sedition break out. We demand of those who reproach us with weakness, that they will lend us their assistance in making the levies : since it is your pleasure we proceed to the vigorous measures you advise.* They then returned to their tribunal, and caused one of the Plebeians, upon whom they had their eyes, to be summoned by name. As he continued without moving, and the citizens crowded about him to prevent any violence from being done him, the Consuls ordered a Licitor to seize him. The Licitor being repulsed, such of the Senators as were present with the Consuls, exclaiming against the indignity, went down from the tribunal, and ran to assist the officer. The multitude then, who had contented themselves with hindering the Licitor from seizing the person who had been called upon to list, attacked the Senators themselves. Upon the interposition of the Consuls, the tumult was appeased. Neither stones nor darts were employed ; the affair passing with more noise and threats than real mischief.

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In the mean time the Senate assembled tumultuously, and proceeded to give their opinions with still greater tumult and disorder. Such of the Senators as had been personally insulted, demanded that the culpable should be proceeded against. At first nothing was heard in the assembly but clamour and rage. When this first uproar was a little pacified, on the Consuls complaining, that there was as little wisdom in the Senate as amongst the populace, they began to deliberate with more order and tranquillity. Their opinions were reduced to three heads. “ Virginius was against remitting the debts of
 “ all the debtors indiscriminately, and only for
 “ discharging those, who, upon the promise of
 “ the Consul P. Servilius, had served in the
 “ wars against the Volsci, Aurunci, and Sa-
 “ bines. T. Largius represented, that it was
 “ not now a time to weigh and examine ser-
 “ vices with rigour : that the whole multitude
 “ were overwhelmed with debts, and that there
 “ was no putting a stop to the evil, but by
 “ making the relief general. That to make a
 “ difference between the debtors, was to kin-
 “ dle and not extinguish discord.” Appius Claudius, who was naturally violent, and still more so on the present occasion, in effect of the People’s hatred on the one side, and the excessive praises of the Senators on the other, said : *It is not misery, but licentiousness, that occasions the evils we now see. The populace are insolent because they are idle. The sole source of all these disorders is their right to appeal. When a criminal can appeal from our judgments to his own accomplices, the Consuls have nothing left but menaces, void in reality of all power. It is therefore necessary, added he, to create a Dictator, from whose decrees there is no appeal. This flame,*
that

that now spreads so much, will then come to nothing A.R. 260.
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*in an instant. When they see the absolute power
of life and death in the hands of a single person :
let them dare to insult his liſtors.*

Appius's opinion ſeemed to many, as it really was, exceſſive and violent. On the other ſide, thoſe of Virginius and Largius gave reaſon to apprehend very pernicious conſequences ; eſpecially that of the latter, which would entirely ruin credit and commerce. (a) It was agreed that the counſel of Virginius, which by a wiſe medium, corrected Largius's exceſs, was the moſt moderate and eligible : but the intrigues of cabals, and the view of private intereſt, which always did, and always will, prejudice public deliberations, occaſioned the preference to be given to Appius's opinion, who was very near being declared Dictator himſelf. That would have entirely exaſperated and alienated the People in a very dangerous conjuncture, when the Volſci, Æqui, and Sabines, were actually in arms in concert. (b) But the Conſuls *Valerius is* and ancient Senators took care, that an autho-*declared* rity in itſelf imperious and abſolute ſhould be *Dictator,* conferred upon a perſon of a mild and mode-*and de-* rate diſpoſition. Manius Valerius, the ſon of *feats the* *enemy.* Voleſus, was nominated Dictator.

Though the People ſaw plainly, that it was againſt them a Dictator was created, as they were obliged for the Right of Appeal to the brother of the perſon choſen, they did not believe

| | |
|---|--|
| (a) Medium maximè, & moderatum utroque confilium Virginiſ habebatur. Sed factione reſpectuque rerum privatarum, quæ ſemper offecere officientque publicis | confiliis, Appius vicit. |
| | (b) Sed curæ fuit Conſulibus & ſenioribus patrum, ut imperium, ſuo vehemens, manſueto permetteretur ingenio. |

that

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that they had any thing dangerous to apprehend from so popular a family. The Dictator passed a decree, little different from what passed not long before by the Consul Servilius on the like occasion, by which he granted a suspension of all proceedings for debt, and promised, when the campaign was over, to terminate an affair which occasioned so many troubles. The Dictator's name, which was extremely grateful to the People, and the sovereign power of his office, induced them to place their confidence in him. The citizens gave in their names, and listed without difficulty. Ten legions were levied, each consisting of four thousand foot and three hundred horse : the Romans had never had so numerous an army on foot before. Each of the Consuls had three legions ; and the Dictator reserved four for himself.

They could not defer taking the field immediately. The Latines, whose country had been ruined by the Æqui, demanded instant aid. The Consul Veturius, who marched on that side, soon obliged the enemy to retire, and some time after defeated them in battle.

The other Consul was sent against the Volsci. Their army was more numerous than his. However, he defeated them in battle, took their camp, and pursued them to Velitræ, whither they retired, entered the place pell-mell with them, and made a great slaughter.

The Dictator in the mean time was at blows with the Sabines, on which side lay the weight of the war. He defeated them, took their camp, gained a compleat victory, and abandoned the spoils, which were very considerable, to the troops. He entered Rome in triumph. Besides other honours, a distinguished place, with

with a * Curule chair, was granted to himself and his descendants in the shews of the Circus.

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After this ceremony, he disbanded his army, and declared his soldiers discharged from the oath they had taken at listing. And in order to give the People a new proof of his affection, he chose four hundred out of their order; whom he raised to that of Knights: which highly displeased the Senate.

The success of the three last wars had been entire: but the domestic troubles, which had only been lulled and suspended for a time, gave both the Senate and People great disquiet. Whilst the troops were fighting abroad for the safety of the state, the usurers on their side had taken all possible measures to frustrate the People's expectation, and the good intentions of the Dictator. Valerius, previously to every thing, immediately after his return, proposed the affair of the debts in the Senate, and demanded, that satisfaction should be given the People, victorious over the enemies of the State, and who had just given shining proofs of their zeal for the service of the commonwealth. The faction of young Senators, which prevailed in that body, and who believed every thing proposed for the relief of the People, contrary to the authority of the Senate, broke out into violent reproaches against the Dictator, as if he had betrayed the interests of his own order to make his court to the people, and occasioned his proposal to be absolutely rejected. Valerius did not lose time in vindicating himself before persons incapable of hearing reason. *I offend you,* said he to them, *in giving you counsels of peace*

* The Curule chair was a seat of ivory peculiar to the principal magistrates.

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and concord : I do not doubt, but in a little time you will be glad, that the patrons and defenders of the People should resemble me. As to what regards me, I will neither frustrate the expectation of my fellow citizens, nor continue Dictator in vain. The Discord within doors, and the wars abroad, made this office your desire. Abroad we are assured of peace : at home we oppose it. I chuse rather to be a witness of sedition as a private person, than as Dictator. On saying this, he quitted the Senate abruptly, and called an assembly of the People.

When the assembly was formed, he appeared in it with all the marks of his dignity. He returned the People thanks for their readiness in taking arms by his order ; and at the same time gave great praises to the ardor and bravery they had shewn against the enemies of the commonwealth. *You have done your duty, says he, as good citizens. It should be my turn to perform the promise I made you. But a faction more powerful than the authority itself of a Dictator, prevents the effect of my good intentions. I am treated openly as the enemy of the Senate : my conduct is censured ; and my having abandoned the spoils of the enemy to you, and discharged you from the military oath, are imputed to me as crimes. I know in what manner I should have retorted such injuries in the vigour of my years. But they despise an old man above seventy : and as I can neither avenge myself, nor do you justice, I voluntarily renounce a dignity that is become painful to me, because useless to you. The People heard this discourse with sentiments of the highest respect and veneration. Every body did him the justice he deserved, and the whole multitude reconducted him to his house with as many praises, as if he had passed sentence for the abolition of debts.*

The People kept within bounds no longer, and the Senate began to be afraid, when they saw the debtors assemble, not by stealth and in the night, but publickly and in the face of day. Under pretence that the Æqui and Sabines were preparing to renew the war, the two armies, who had taken the military oath to the Consuls, were ordered not to quit their arms, nor separate. It is proper to observe, that each Roman soldier, in lifting, swore not to abandon his colours, nor to withdraw without an express discharge. This oath was called *sacramentum*, because an oath is a thing sacred in itself. Whatever the soldiers might desire, they could not depart from it : so strong was the impression of religion at that time upon their minds. The Consuls having made them quit the city, encamped not far from each other in the neighbourhood. The first method the soldiers thought of for discharging themselves from the oath, was to kill the Consuls to whom they had sworn. Who could believe, that so strange and monstrous a mixture of religion and wickedness could ever enter the heart of man ? As they were told, that no religious engagement could be dissolved by a crime, one Sicinius conceived another method. This was, to march off with the ensigns of the first camp, and afterwards with those of the second, in doing which they should not desert, because they should have with them what they had sworn not to abandon. The expedient pleased the troops. How small a thing satisfies the consciences of the weak ! Having nominated new Centurions, and placed Sicinius at their head, they retired in good order to a mountain, which was afterwards called *the Sacred mountain*, at three miles from Rome, on the

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Retreat of the People to the Sacred mountain.

Nullam scelere religionem exolvi.

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the other side of the river *Anio*, now called *the Teveron*.

So general a desertion, which seemed the commencement of a civil war, extremely alarmed the Senate. They saw then how much they had erred in not believing Valerius. Some Senators were deputed to those soldiers, to prevail on them by fair promises to return to Rome on the promise of the Senate. The army scarce vouchsafed them an hearing. *It becomes you well*, said Sicinius to them, *to give us your word for security, after having broken it so often. You are for being sole masters of the city. Very well; you have our consent to it. The inferior People, and the poor, shall no longer be a burthen to you: Any place where we can live in liberty will be our country.*

When this answer was reported, it occasioned extreme consternation. Nothing was to be seen in the city but trouble and confusion; the Plebeians preparing to retire, and the Patricians using their utmost endeavours to prevent it. Guards were posted at the gates: but they were soon forced by the great numbers of the People, most of whom went to join the troops. They committed no ravages in the country: but kept themselves within a well fortified camp, which they never quitted, but to fetch in provisions; contenting themselves with mere necessities. So wise and moderate a conduct, which there was no room to expect, alarmed the Senators more than all the rest, and shewed them that this was not a transient flame, a short emotion that would soon spend itself and disappear but from the manner, in which this sedition began, every thing passing with order, and in concert, that the consequences might be very fatal. In order to prevent them, they sent new
 deputed

deputies to know what the People demanded, the Senate being highly disposed to give them satisfaction. They were no better received than the first, and for their whole answer were told, that the Senate ought to know the grievances of the citizens, and that they should soon find what enemies they had to deal with.

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In the mean time the Consuls year being upon the point of expiring, they summoned an assembly in the field of Mars, in order to elect their successors. It was customary for many candidates to present themselves. The citizens who stood for offices, were called so, from their being cloathed in robes peculiarly white. None appeared at this time : and many refused the Consulship, though offered them. It is no wonder, that no body would accept the helm at a time like this, when the vessel of the Commonwealth was tossed with so violent a storm. The People, that is to say, those who remained in the city, were obliged to nominate the Consuls themselves. They chose Postumius Cominius and Sp. Cassius, who had borne that office before, and were believed equally agreeable to Plebeians and Patricians. They entered upon office sooner than usual, that it is to say, upon the first of September.

POSTUMIUS COMINIUS.

SP. CASSIUS.

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The first thing that the new Consuls did, was to propose the affair of the debts to the Senate. They found abundance of opposition to it, especially from Appius, who constantly insisted that all the favour shewn the populace only made them the more insolent, and that nothing but inflexible severity could reduce them to their duty.

Reconciliation of the Senate and People

All

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All the younger Senators blindly gave into this opinion. Many very tumultuous assemblies were held, which passed in altercations and reproaches, and in which nothing was concluded. The antient Senators were all inclined to peace, and were convinced that the good of the state required the re-establishment of concord between the citizens as soon as possible at any price whatever. Agrippa Menenius strongly supported this opinion. He was a man generally respected, who had always observed a wise medium between the two parties, neither countenancing the pride of the Great, nor favouring the licentiousness of the People. He was one of the new Senators, chosen by Brutus soon after the expulsion of the Kings; and by that attachment to the People by origin, and to the Senate by his new dignity, he was a very proper person to act as a Mediator between them. He spoke in the strongest terms upon the indispensable necessity of putting an end as soon as possible to the unhappy discord that disturbed the tranquility of the State. He concluded, that it was necessary to send a deputation, composed of the most antient Senators, to those who had retired, with full power to conclude a peace upon such conditions, as they should judge most for the advantage of the Public. This advice was always universally approved. Ten deputies were nominated, in the number of whom the Senate did not fail to include himself.

They set out without loss of time. All that had passed in the Senate was already known in the camp. The multitude went out to meet them, and received them with great marks of joy. Menenius Agrippa spoke. He dwelt much upon the good intentions of the Senate who had given them full power to treat. He shewed the
the

the fatal effects of civil dissensions, which had often ruined the most potent kingdoms, and the great advantages of concord, which raised the weakest States to a supreme degree of power and greatness. He concluded his discourse with a fable, known now to all the world, which then made a very strong impression upon every body by its novelty. “ At a certain time, “ said he, when the members of the human “ body were not in the same good understand- “ ing as they are at present, and each member “ had its different counsel and language, the “ other parts of the body were enraged that “ they should all labour for the belly, whilst it “ enjoyed the pleasures provided for it in idleness and at ease. In consequence they formed a conspiracy against it, and agreed amongst themselves, that the hands should no longer carry food to the mouth, that the mouth should not receive it, and that the teeth should not grind it. Whilst they were thus wrathfully intent upon reducing the belly by famine, all the members, and the whole body grew exceedingly lean and languid. That effect discovered, that the belly was not so idle as it had been thought, and that, if it was nourished by the other members, it contributed no less to their support, in communicating, by the digestion of food, to all parts of the body, that blood, by which their life and strength subsisted, and in circulating it in due quantities through all the veins.”

He compared this intestine sedition of the parts of the body to the discord that then divided the People and Senate. That application, which was very natural, pleased the whole assembly.

He afterwards proposed the following conditions: That such as were insolvent should be

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entirely discharged from their debts. That such of the citizens as either had been delivered up to their creditors for debts, or were liable to such judgment, should have entire liberty. That for the time to come the Senate and People should unite in making such regulations in respect to the affair in question, as should be judged most expedient. The people agreed to all these conditions: but they demanded, that one should be added, which was of far greater importance. By the creation of a Dictator with unlimited authority, the law, which admitted appeals to the People from the Decrees of any magistrate whatsoever, was in a manner made void. To reinstate them in some measure in their rights, they insisted that magistrates should be created, whose sole duty should be the conservation of their rights and privileges, who should be elected only out of the People, and whose persons should be sacred and inviolable. Though the deputies had unlimited powers, and did not disapprove this new demand; however, as it was unforeseen, and of great importance, they desired permission to impart it to the Senate, whose consent they urged to be absolutely necessary. The Senate, in consequence complied with it, notwithstanding the opposition of Appius, who in the highest fury called upon gods and men to witness all the evils, which such an innovation would bring upon the Commonwealth. All that the deputies had concluded was ratified by the Senate. The People in effect created the new magistrates in the assembly called *Comitia Curiata*, who were called *Tribunes of the People*. The persons first chosen were L. Junius Brutus, and C. Sicinius Bellutus, who had always been at the head of the People from the beginning of this affair; and after them C. and

P.

P. Licinius; and Sp. Icilius Ruga. These were ^{A.R. 261.} the first five Tribunes of the People. They en- ^{Ant. C.} ^{491.}tered upon office the tenth of December; and from thenceforth the Tribunes of the People always began to act on that day.

Lucius Junius, who was placed at the head of the Tribunes, had the same name as he who had expelled the Tyrants; and in order to have a more entire resemblance to that illustrious deliverer of his country, he even caused himself to be surnamed Brutus. He was a turbulent seditious man, who wanted neither wit nor penetration, was particularly a great speaker, and spoke freely what he thought.

I have already said, that the persons of these magistrates were sacred and inviolable. The People passed an express law for that purpose, by which it was prohibited to lay hands upon the Tribunes, or do them any violence, upon any pretence whatsoever. Whoever infringed this law, was declared accursed: *sacer esto*; and his estate confiscated to the goddess Ceres. It was lawful to kill him without any form of prosecution. And in order that this law might never be violated, the People engaged themselves by oath, and under the most dreadful imprecations, as well in their own name as in that of all their descendants, never to abolish it. This law was called *sacred*; as all laws were that were confirmed by an oath, and imprecations against such as violated them: and this occasioned the mountain to which the People had retired, and where it was passed, to be called the *Sacred Mountain*.

Two other annual magistrates were created at ^{Plebeian} the same time, called *Plebeian Ædiles*, who ^{Ædiles.} were subordinate to the Tribunes of the People, caused their orders to be put in execution, ad-

A.R. 261.
A.U.C.
431.

ministered justice under them, took care that the temples and public places were kept in repair, and presided in respect to provisions.

Thus the last troubles excited on account of debts were terminated, after having subsisted above three months.

*Reflection
upon the
conduct of
the Senate.*

This is the first sedition mentioned in the Roman history, I mean between the two orders of the state. The origin and cause of it are by no means for the honour of the Senate; the avarice and cruelty of many of their body having made way for it. The citizens, who had lost what they had by the misfortunes of the times, the incursions of enemies, and the ravaging of their lands, by bad seasons, fires, and the like accidents, and, some no doubt, by their own bad conduct, were thereby rendered unable to cultivate their lands, continue their commerce, and employ themselves in their usual labours. They saw themselves therefore obliged to have recourse to the rich, who willingly opened their purses to them, but upon the hard and heavy condition of paying great interest for the money they lent them. This small, present, and transitory assistance became their ruin. Arrears were perpetually running on, and debts augmenting; whilst even relief itself increased the incapacity of discharging them. At length when they were become entirely insolvent, they were delivered up by the law to their creditors, who treated them with the utmost cruelty like slaves, loading them with irons, and flogging them with scourges. I am sensible that the whole body of the Senators were not infected with this shameful disease of avarice: we have seen many of them carry their contempt of riches, and love of poverty, almost to excess. The whole Senate may however in some sense
be

be said to have made themselves accomplices in that crime by their indolence and connivance. A.R. 261.
Ant. C.
491.

A single example of severity employed at first against the culpable, would have put a stop to the evil in its origin : but the Poor are looked upon as nothing, and people are afraid to offend the Great. The government however by this weak condescension are accountable for a thousand disorders, which it had been easy to suppress in their birth, and which afterwards became too strong to be remedied.

A second fault of the Senate, no less contrary than the former to the most essential principles of good policy, was breach of faith and promise. When the enemy are at the gates of Rome, and there is a pressing occasion for the People, the Senate grows gentle, becomes kind, and makes caresses with the finest promises in the world. As soon as the danger is over, they believe themselves discharged, and entirely forget them : an unworthy and wretched conduct, that brings the commonwealth to the very brink of destruction. If on the one side there had not happened to be some good hearts and wise heads in the Senate, to advise and support that body, and the Roman People on the other had been more violent and outrageous, perhaps there had been an end of Rome for evermore. The enemies at the gates with the Tarquins at their head, the People discontented and revolted : at such a time what was not to be feared ! It is said with great reason, that faith to engagements is the firmest foundation and support of states, and that it ought to be the principal object of all who have the administration of publick affairs.

The character of the Roman People is perfectly seen in the commotions and troubles I have just been relating. We must remember

A.R. 261.
Ant. C.
491.

that they were not subject to the Senate, that they were independent of that Order's authority, and formed, as well as itself, a distinct body of the state. What I admire then in this People, is the wisdom and moderation which they shew in the very height, as it seems, of their rage and ferment. They commit no hostility, they ruin no lands of the Patricians their enemies, and re-unite as soon as reasonable conditions are granted them. They retain this moderation during more than three hundred years, notwithstanding the continual contests between the Senate and People. The first sedition wherein blood was shed at Rome, was that of Tib. Gracchus.

The Senate were well punished for the faults they had committed in the affair of the debts, by the new institution of the Tribunes of the People, which was the consequence of it, and which gave a mortal wound to their authority. At first they were only five in number, which was afterwards augmented to ten. They were chosen by the People, and could be elected only out of their order. Their election came on regularly the tenth of December. Their office was annual. As it was not deemed in the rank of the highest dignities of the State, in order to strengthen its authority, and for the better security of the persons of the Tribunes, it was declared sacred and inviolable by a decree of the People, and all violence to them prohibited upon pain of death. They were at first created to prevent the People from being oppressed, to serve them as an asylum and support against the great, and to defend their rights and interests. A citizen who believed himself injured had recourse to them. They supported him, not only against private persons, but the magistrates themselves.

themselves. If the Senate passed any decree, or formed any resolution, that displeased the People, it sufficed that only one of the Tribunes opposed it, to suspend its execution. If the authority of the Tribunes had been confined within the bounds of its first institution, which was to defend and support the * People against the unjust enterprizes of the Senate, nothing had been more laudable and useful ; nothing being more reasonable, than that the People should have magistrates for the conservation of their privileges. But the Tribunes did not keep long within those just bounds. They laboured perpetually to augment the power of the People ; making it their glory to humble and mortify the Senate as much as possible.

The power of these magistrates became so formidable, that they believed themselves sufficiently authorized to arrest and imprison the Consuls themselves.

In a word, there was nothing that they did not undertake and effect by invincible perseverance. We shall soon see the faction of these Tribunes, the perpetual artificers of

* I think it necessary here to explain once for all a word that frequently occurs in this history, which has a double sense : that is the word People. That word often signifies the whole Roman people, considered generally, as forming only one body, but composed of two parts, of which the Senate is the most noble. For example, in this sense it is said, The Sabines made war against the Roman people : They concluded a peace with the Roman people, &c. The same word is very often

taken only for one part of the commonwealth, called sometimes Plebes, from whence comes the word Plebeians, which can be rendered in French only by the word Peuple, People : for that of populace, strictly speaking, signifies only the mob or dregs of the People. The context generally suffices to clear up this ambiguity ; but I thought proper to take notice of it, because I find myself sometime at a loss about it.

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491.

discord, occasion a declared war to take place between the Senate and People, which will be carried on with great warmth and violence on both sides, will have truces from time to time of considerable length and sufficient tranquillity, but not come to taking arms and shedding blood till after a very long series of years.

Liv. l. 3.
§ 5.

Before I conclude this point, it is necessary to observe, that the power of the Tribunes was confined to the city, and that the Right of Appeal itself did not extend to above a thousand paces from Rome.

THE ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE THIRD.

THIS third book includes the space of almost thirty years, from the history of Coriolanus, which immediately follows the institution of the Tribunes of the People, till the law proposed by the Tribune Terentillus, which makes way for the creation of the Decemviri; that is to say, from the 261st to the 290th year of Rome.

C H A P. I.

*Siege and taking of Corioli, where Anc. Marcius, afterwards surnamed Coriolanus, distinguishes himself. Treaty with the Latines renewed. Death of Menenius Agrippa. Honours rendered to his poverty. Excessive famine at Rome. New troubles. Coriolanus demands the Consulship, and is rejected. He declares violently against the People on the occasion of the distribution of corn. He advises the Senate to take the advantage of the People's misery for abolishing the office of Tribune. He is cited before the People, and condemned to banishment. He retires to the Volsci, and engages them to make war with Rome. He besieges Rome. He re-
jects*

jects the embassy of the Senators ; and that of the Priests. He raises the siege at the request of his mother, and returns into banishment. His death.

A.R. 261.

Ant. C.

491.

Dionys.

l. 6. p. 411,

—416.

Liv. l. 2.

c. 33.

Plut. in

Coriol. p.

216--218.

*Siege of**Corioli.*

PEACE being re-instated within doors, Rome had no other thoughts than of raising troops for the war abroad. During the troubles of the commonwealth, Sp. Cassius and Postumius Cominius had been elected Consuls. The command of the army fell to the latter by lot. It consisted of a great number of Roman troops, and considerable succours of the Latines. The Consul marched against the Volsci, took two small towns, Longula and Polusca, by assault, and then sat down before Corioli, one of the strongest places in the country. The inhabitants had made preparations for the siege before; and accordingly made a vigorous defence. The Consul did not succeed in his first attacks, which were continued till night; but was repulsed with great loss. Resolved to renew the assault the next day, he caused rams, mantles, and scaling ladders to be got ready. But receiving advice, that the Antiates were on their march to aid the People of Corioli, their relations and allies, and approached with a strong re-inforcement, he divided his army into two bodies, left one to continue the siege under the command of T. Largius, and marched with the other to meet the enemy.

Character of Marcius, afterwards surnamed Coriolanus.

Plut. in

Coriol.

p. 314.

Amongst the troops that remained before Corioli was a young officer, named Marcius, a Patrician by birth, and generally (a) esteemed for his valour and prudence, who will act a great part in the sequel. Having lost his father

(a) *Consilio & manu promptus.*

in

in his infancy, he was brought up under the care of his mother Veturia, a woman of austere virtue, and shewed by his example, that if the condition of an (a) orphan is unfortunate on many accounts, it does not however prevent one, whose fate it is, from becoming a great man. But as that condition generally occasions the neglect of education, it often happens, that in such persons the greatest virtues are attended with great vices, which have not been corrected in their youth. The character of Marcius was steadiness and constancy in his resolutions, which made him do abundance of great and noble actions, but which, for want of having received the proper bent in time, made him also commit a great number of considerable faults; not unlike a rich and fertile soil, which, when uncultivated, produces abundance of bad, amongst its good, plants and herbage. Accordingly, that steadiness and constancy often degenerated into excess and passion, of which he was not master, and an inflexible obstinacy, that did not know what it was to give in through complacency to the opinion of another. Hence, at the same time that he was admired for a superiority of soul, which rendered him inaccessible to pleasures and riches, and invincible to the severest labours, his lofty and imperious disposition made him seem difficult and untractable in the commerce of life. So true is it, says Plutarch after having drawn his character, that the best fruit men can derive from the familiarity of the muses, is to acquire in the commerce of letters a gentleness and humanity of disposition, that renders them amiable.

(a) Ἡμεῖς δ' ὀρφανικὸν παραφύλιστα παῖδ' ἀνέθισι.

Hom. Il. l. 22. ver. 490.

Marcus,

A.R. 267.
Ant. C.
491.
*Taking of
Corioli.*

Marcus signalized himself in a particular manner at the siege of Corioli. The besieged, full of confidence in effect of the aid which the Antiates were bringing them, opened all their gates, and made a general sally upon the besiegers. The Romans kept their ground, and killed them abundance of men at first. But they were afterwards obliged to give way before the new forces that poured continually out of the city. Marcus, in despair to see their flight, made head with an handful of troops, and sustained the whole weight of the enemy's attack. The Volsci in consequence, of whom he made a dreadful slaughter, gave way in their turn, and regained their walls. Marcus pursued them with the utmost vigour, calling to his comrades that fled, to resume courage and return to the charge. The latter, ashamed of their fear, rallied as he bade them, joined him, and taking advantage of the enemy's disorder, completed their defeat. They all together entered pell-mell into the city with the Volsci, which was obliged to surrender at discretion, and was plundered by the soldiers.

*Defeat of
the An-
tiates.*

Marcus, insatiable of glory, as soon as the place was reduced, flew with a small number of chosen troops to the consul's army. It was the custom of the Romans, when they were upon the point of giving battle, to make their (a) wills without writing any thing, but only nominating their heir before three or four witnesses. Marcus, on his arrival, found Cominius's soldiers so employed, and the two armies ready to engage. He informed him of the taking of Corioli, which news spread joy and ardour through the Consul's troops, and terror and dejection

* *This was called testamentum in procinctu facere.*

through

through those of the Antiates. As soon as the charge was sounded, Marcius attacked the enemy with a small body of troops under his command, and at the first shock bore down all that were so bold to face him. Having opened himself a way by this successful attack to the main body of the Antiates, he spread terror and disorder throughout their army, and wherever he turned, none daring to stand his charge, he broke and penetrated their ranks. The enemy made a feint to surround him in vain : all fled at his approach, and none ventured to attack him except retreating and at a distance. The Consul, who on his side had also pushed the Antiates with great vigour, but who feared that Marcius would at length fall under the multitude of darts that the enemy continually poured upon him, detached a body of chosen troops, and commanded them to march in close order, and to charge where the enemy made most resistance. Those brave Romans made no difficulty in opening themselves a passage to Marcius, whom they found covered all over with wounds, and surrounded with a great number of dying men, whom he had laid at his feet. The courage of that brave officer revived at the sight of that re-inforcement, and he went on breaking the enemy wherever they continued to make head. Some he obliged to fly, others fell under his sword, and the rest he drove before him like slaves. None distinguished themselves more in this battle, than those who were sent to support Marcius. But the bravery of that generous Roman obscured that of all others, and it was allowed that the victory was owing to him.

The glory acquired by Marcius in this war effaced that of the Consul Postumius in such a manner, that, but for a treaty engraved upon a pillar

A.R. 261.

Ant. C.

491.

*Glory and
reward of
Marcius.*

A.R. 261.
Ant. C.
491.

pillar of brass, posterity would not have known, that Postumius had ever made war against the Volsci. However, which is very extraordinary and estimable in a general of an army, the Consul conceived no jealousy on that account. The day after the battle, at the head of the whole army, he gave Marcius the greatest praises, and in reward of his valour and the considerable services, which he had done in both actions, he crowned him with his own hands, and to that mark of honour added other rewards highly capable of soothing the victor. He made him a present of a War-horse richly caparisoned and adorned with all the ornaments usually worn by that of the General. He gave him the choice of ten prisoners, with permission to take ten of each of the different species that composed the spoils. The Justice, which Postumius did Marcius, was attended with universal applause, a glorious testimony both of the Consul's equity, and the young victor's merit. Marcius came forwards, and after having returned Postumius, and the troops his thanks for their good will, and declared, that he would not abuse it, he accepted only the horse and one of the prisoners, who was his friend. The soldiers, who already knew the greatness of his mind, were more charmed than ever with his disinterestedness and modesty, and conceived the virtue with which he refused such valuable rewards undoubtedly preferable to that which had rendered him worthy of them. They conferred another honour upon him, that he could not refuse. To perpetuate in his person the remembrance of the double victory he had acquired, they surnamed him *Coriolanus*, a name which he ever after retained with the esteem and admiration of his citizens.

Plutarch.

It is very common in a profession, which ^{A.R. 262, Ant C. 491.} seems to breathe nothing but glory, to find Generals of armies, who in some measure renounce it in respect to themselves, in order to pay homage to superior merit in the person of a simple officer. What comparison is there between this truly heroic greatness of soul, in my opinion much more estimable than victory itself, and the meanness of those, to whom all merit but their own gives umbrage; and who have no view but to obscure and suppress it, to the utmost of their power? I am surprized and sorry, that Livy has run over the taking of Corioli, and the great exploits of its conqueror, so slightly.

The defeat of the Antiates obliged the rest of the Volsci to solicit the amity of the Roman People, and caused those who were making preparations for a war with them, to lay down their arms. Postumius treated them favourably, and as soon as he returned to Rome, he disbanded his army.

At the same time the treaty of peace with the Latines was renewed, which had been refused till now. The Romans were induced to ^{Treaty with the Latines renewed.} come into it through gratitude for the concern that People had expressed first on account of the division, then of the reconciliation of the Senate and People, and lastly, for the considerable aid they had lately given them in the war newly terminated. This new treaty was conceived in terms, that seem very remarkable to me. “ That the peace between the Romans, “ and all the Latine States, shall subsist as long “ as the heavens and the earth. That neither “ People should ever make war against the “ other : That they should never call in foreign “ enemies : That they should never give passage through their territories to the enemies “ cf

A.R. 261.
Art. C.
49L

“ of each other : That they should mutually
 “ assist each other with all their forces in the
 “ wars, that either should have to sustain :
 “ That the spoils taken from the enemy, when
 “ they fought with joint forces, should be
 “ equally divided between them : That the dif-
 “ ferences which should arise between particu-
 “ lars in respect to private contracts, should
 “ be terminated at the tribunal of that People,
 “ in whose dominions such contracts were
 “ made : That nothing should be either added
 “ to, or retrenched from, the conditions of this
 “ treaty, without the unanimous consent of all
 “ the Romans and all the Latines : That both
 “ People shall swear by all that is most sacred
 “ to them, to observe religiously all the arti-
 “ cles of this treaty.”

The Senate, on their side, decreed public sa-
 crifices and thanksgivings to the gods for the
 good success of their reconciliation with the Peo-
 ple. They also added a third day to the festi-
 val called *Feriæ Latinæ*, which before continued
 but two days. The *Ædiles*, of whose crea-
 tion we have spoken above, presided in the sa-
 crifices and games which were celebrated during
 this festival.

Death of
Menenius
Agrippa.
Honours
rendered to
his poverty.

Some time after the celebration of this festi-
 val died Menenius Agrippa, that illustrious Se-
 nator, who had been Consul, had defeated
 the Sabines, and had obtained the honour of a
 triumph by his victory. It was by his coun-
 sels and authority, that the Senate consented to
 the return of the People, and the People laid
 down their arms and re-united with the Senate.
 With (a) all this merit and all these glorious

(a) Huic interpreti arbitro- ductori plebis Romanæ in ur-
 que concordie civium, lega- bem, sumptus funeri defuit:
 to patrum ad plebem, re- Liv.

titles, he died poor, and did not leave enough to defray the expences of his funeral. The Public supplied that charge. The Tribunes having assembled the People, harangued them in praise of Menenius. They related all the great things he had done both in war and peace: they extolled his excellent qualities to the skies; his disinterestedness, frugality, probity, contempt of riches, extreme abhorrence of usury, and the cruel gains derived from the blood of the unfortunate; and they concluded with representing, that it would be exceedingly shameful, if so great a man were deprived after his death of the honours he deserved, for want of having left wherewithal to defray the expences of his funeral. Every (a) individual laid a tax upon himself with joy, which amounted to a considerable sum. The Senate, prompted by a noble jealousy, considered as an indignity to the State, that a man of such merit should be interred by the alms of private persons, and judged, that it was but just that the expence should be defrayed out of the public treasury. An order for that purpose was immediately issued to the Quæstors, who spared nothing, that could give the funeral pomp of Menenius all the splendor and magnificence worthy his rank and virtue. The People, piqued in their turn with a generous emulation, absolutely refused to take back the money they had given, which the Quæstors would have returned. They made a present of it to the children of Menenius, that their poverty might not oblige them to engage in professions unworthy of the rank and glory of their father.

A.R. 261;
Ant. C.
491.

(a) Extulit eum plebs, sextantibus collatis in capita.
Liv.

A.R. 261.
Ant. C.
491.

Is it in the Reader's power not to admire all we have just related ! What a lustre does poverty, especially, reflect in this place, in the midst of this fine train of virtues and glorious actions, that attract the praises, and occasion the regret, of an whole people ! Have riches, in their most glaring magnificence, any thing that comes near it ?

At the same time, the Consuls made the *Census* (or muster) of the Roman People, who amounted to above an hundred and ten thousand men : this was the seventh.

A R. 262.
Ant. C.
492.

T. GEGANIUS.
P. MINUCIUS.

*Excessive
famine at
Rome.*
Dionys.
1.7. p.417,
418, 433.
Liv. 1. 2.
c. 34.

Under these Consuls, whilst all things were quiet both at home and abroad, Rome was afflicted with a great famine, of which the retreat of the People to the Sacred Mountain was the cause. That retreat began about the autumnal equinox, the time when People begin to sow, and did not end till the winter solstice : during all which interval the lands lay uncultivated, and without being sown ; and that occasioned a great scarcity of provisions. The Senate, to remedy that evil, which it ought timely to have foreseen and prevented, sent into Hetruria, Campania, the country of the Volsci, and even into Sicily, to purchase as much corn as they could. The deputies who went to Sicily, having met with a rude storm, did not arrive till very late at Syracuse, where they were obliged to pass the winter. At Cumæ, the Tyrant Aristodemus kept the money, which had been paid him for the purchase of corn, and the deputies thought themselves too happy in being able to escape with their lives. The
Volsci,

Volsci, far from assisting the Romans, prepared to march against them: but a dreadful plague <sup>A.R. 261.
Ant. C.
491.</sup> that suddenly happened, prevented them. It raged so violently, that at Velitræ, one of their principal cities, only the tenth part of the inhabitants escaped it. They had recourse to the Romans, who, forgetting the enmity of the Volsci, and being besides well satisfied to rid Rome of some part of its citizens, sent thither a numerous Colony, who did not go without reluctance to a city, where the pestilence had lately made such ravages. They sent also one for the same reason to Norba, a considerable city in the country of the Latines. The deputies succeeded only in Hetruria, where they purchased a great quantity of grain, which they sent in barks to Rome. This supply served the city for some time: but an excessive dearth soon ensued.

The famine rekindled the flames of discord. ^{New troubles:} The Tribunes of the People, and still more Sicinius and Junius, who were then Ædiles, incessantly held seditious discourses against the Senate. The more to exasperate the poor, whom their misery already inclined too much to rage, they affirmed, “ That the rich had provisions
“ in their houses which they carefully concealed: that with the aid of their money,
“ they had engrossed all that had been brought
“ into the city: that with those helps it was
“ easy for them to preserve themselves from
“ hunger, whilst the poor, who had no such
“ reserves, suffered all the rigour of it. They
“ even went so far as to affirm, that the only
“ view in sending a Colony amongst the Volsci,
“ was to expose it unavoidably to the plague in
“ a contagious Country.”

A R. 262.
Ant. C.
490.

Every thing was in tumult and disorder. The Consuls summoned an assembly of the People, to undeceive them in respect to the bad impressions which had been unjustly given them against the Senate. But the Tribunes interrupting their discourse without any respect for their dignity, excited so violent a tumult, that it was impossible to comprehend what either side was for saying. The Consuls pretended, that the Tribunes had no power to treat directly with the People, and that their functions extended no farther than the right of opposition. The latter maintained on their side, that every thing which was decided before the People, was their business, and that it was as much their right to speak in these assemblies, as that of the Consuls to speak in the Senate, where they presided. The dispute grew extremely hot, when Junius, who was only Ædile this year, demanded permission of the Consuls to speak, promising to appease the sedition. The Consuls believing they had carried their point, because the Plebeian orator addressed himself to them, without regard to the Tribunes who were present, made no difficulty to give him leave to explain himself. A profound silence ensued, and Junius, without any farther introduction, said to the Consuls; *Have you forgot, that at the time when we laboured in concert, a reconciliation between the two orders of the Commonwealth, that no Patrician interrupted those who were charged with the People's interests, and that this was in effect of an express agreement; that both sides might give their reasons with the greater order and tranquillity? I very well remember it,* replied Geganius. *Why then,* continued Junius, *do you interrupt our Tribunes now, whose persons are sacred, and who are the magistrates of the public? We in-*
interrupt

interrupt them with justice, said Geganius, because as we ourselves called the assembly according to the privilege of our office, the right of speaking belongs to us. The Consul added too precipitately, and without foreseeing the consequence of his words, *that, if the Tribunes had summoned the assembly, he would have been so far from interrupting them, that he would not so much as have come to hear them.*

Junius no sooner heard those last words than he cried out in a transport of joy : *Plebeians, you have conquered. And as for you, Tribunes, give place to the Consuls. Let them harangue as much as they please to-day, to-morrow I'll shew you the dignity and power of your office.*

It was now necessary to dismiss the assembly, upon account of the night which had come on during these disputes. The next morning the Tribunes with the principal Plebeians repaired to the Forum at break of day, and immediately took possession of the temple of Vulcan, where those who were for haranguing usually placed themselves. An innumerable crowd of people soon filled the place. The Tribune Icilius spoke. After having declaimed warmly against the Patricians, he represented, that the office of Tribune would become useless, if the Tribunes were not empowered to assemble the People, in order to represent to them what was for their interest. He concluded with demanding, that they might be authorized by a new law to summon assemblies ; and that to interrupt and disturb them in the exercise of their office, should be prohibited under great penalties. The people cried out with one voice, that he should propose it himself. He had prepared it during the night, in concert with his Collegues, and had it ready. It was conceived in these terms : “ In the assem-

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490.

“ blies of the People held by the Tribunes, let
“ no one contradict or interrupt them. If any
“ one infringes this law, he shall give security
“ to the Tribunes to appear before them when
“ cited, and to pay the fine in which he shall
“ be condemned. Whoever shall refuse to do
“ this, let him be put to death, and let his for-
“ tune be consecrated to the gods. If any dis-
“ putes arise concerning the fine, the People
“ shall decide them.” The law was accepted
by the unanimous suffrages of the People; and
the Senate, after a long resistance, were at length
obliged to consent to it.

The different degrees of power acquired by
the People are worth observing as they occur.
The institution of the Tribunes, granted on the
Sacred Mountain in consequence of the reconcili-
ation of the two orders of the Commonwealth,
was the basis and foundation of that authority,
which rose to such an height in process of time.
The law, by which the persons of those magi-
strates were declared sacred and inviolable, was
of great weight to them. They however had
hitherto no other rights than to interpose in fa-
vour of the People, when their interests were
affected. But the new law, of which we now
speak, gave a greater extent to their functions
than the mere power of opposition, with which
they were invested on the Sacred Mountain.
This law expressly empowered them to call and
preside in assemblies: nor did they confine them-
selves to that.

These feuds, however warm they were, did
not rise on either side to positive violence,
as is usual enough in the like divisions. The
poor made no irruptions into the houses of
the rich, to plunder the provisions they believed
concealed there. They did not seize such by
violence,

violence, as they saw exposed to sale : but were patient with the little nourishment they bought at a very dear rate ; and when their money was gone, they lived upon herbs and roots, and sustained hunger without murmuring, or at least without proceeding to any excesses. The rich on their side committed no violence against the miserable ; and without abusing the power, which they had over an infinity of their creatures who were at their disposal, to remove or punish the mutinous, they behaved like good fathers, who overlook and dissemble their knowledge of the faults of their children. Thus, notwithstanding their secret faults, they observed a moderation on both sides, of which civil dissensions do not seem susceptible.

The Consuls, in this conjuncture, made the Senate pass a decree for levying troops, and taking the field with an army. The apparent pretext was to oppose the enemy, who made frequent incursions into the lands of the Commonwealth ; but they were also in hopes of other advantages. In setting an army on foot, the great number of inhabitants that they drew out of Rome, made it more easy for those who remained to subsist during the scarcity ; and as those who were to serve abroad, were to live in the enemy's lands, they would have plenty without being a burden to their country. But the Consuls did not find the citizens much disposed to list ; and they were unwilling to have recourse to the rigour of the laws for obliging them to serve. They contented themselves therefore with some Patricians, who offered to march as volunteers, and were followed by their clients, and a small number of the People. Coriolanus (for so I shall call Marcius for the future) had the command of this little army,

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which advancing to Antium, besides a great quantity of corn that it seized in the field, made a great booty of slaves and cattle. Some time after it returned to Rome, laden with provisions of all sorts, and gave so much envy to those who had remained there, that they murmured against the Tribunes, for having dissuaded them from an expedition, that might have relieved their misery.

The time of the assemblies for the election of Consuls approached: and Coriolanus intended to demand that dignity. His extraordinary success in all his campaigns, had exceedingly exalted his hopes, and had acquired him abundance of creatures entirely devoted to his service. The People were generally inclined in his favour. They would have thought it gross injustice to reject a person, distinguished like him by his birth, and still more by his merit, and to dishonour him so publickly, especially after the great services he had done his country; and expressed that disposition clearly enough. Coriolanus in consequence assured himself of being elected Consul, and had omitted none of the formalities usually observed by those who stood for offices. Upon the day of election he repaired to the Forum with the utmost splendor, conducted by the whole Senate, and surrounded by all the Patricians, who had never expressed so much passion and zeal for any candidate. That pomp and great favour instantly changed the sentiments of the People, and turned their esteem and good-will into jealousy and hatred. Add to this the fear they conceived of making themselves a formidable adversary, in conferring the supreme authority upon a man so zealous for the party of the nobility, and at the same time in such high credit. For these considerations,

considerations, the People rejected Coriolanus, and chose M. Minucius, and A. Sempronius Consuls. A.R. 262.
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We see here, almost as early as the beginning of the Commonwealth, a sensible proof of all that Cicero says of the character of the assemblies of the Roman People, and it is necessary to apprize the reader of it in good time. There is (a) nothing, says that orator, so delicate, so capricious, so flexible, and so susceptible of change as the disposition of the citizens in respect to Candidates. As there are tempests which may be foreseen by certain prognostics, and others that arise suddenly without any apparent reason, and from obscure and unknown causes: there are also storms, which arise in the assemblies of the People; of which we sometimes see clearly the occasion, but the cause of them is frequently so obscure, that they seem merely the effect of chance. The space of a day or a night frequently disconcerts all measures; the slightest rumour, a breath, often entirely changes the opinion of the People. Without any apparent reason, things take a turn wholly unexpected, and such as the People themselves are as much amazed at, as if it had not been their own doing.

Coriolanus made a mortifying experience of this levity and inconstancy of the Roman People,

(a) Nihil est tam molle, tam tenerum, tam aut fragile aut flexibile, quàm voluntas erga nos sensusque civium. *Pro Mil. n. 42.*

Ut tempestates sæpe certo aliquo signo commoventur, sæpe improvisò, nullâ ex certâ ratione, obscura aliqua ex causa excitantur: sic in hac comitiorum tempestate

populari, sæpe intelligas quo signo commota sit; sæpe ita obicura est, ut casu excitata esse videatur. — Dies intermissus unus, aut nox interposita, sæpe perturbat omnia; & totam opinionem parva nonnunquam commutat aut rumoris. *Pro Muræn. n. 35, 36.*

of

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of whose suffrages he had at first assured himself as certain and infallible. We have observed, that he had not the amiable qualities of moderation, complacency, and patience, so necessary to the public man, which are the fruits of education and reflection. This refusal enraged him to a degree not to be expressed. He gave a loose to complaints and reproaches, without observing any measures. To one nurtured till then in the midst of praises and applauses, the ignominy of being rejected was the more affecting. He did not reflect, that the Roman People, jealous to excess of their liberty, pretended to be absolute masters of their suffrages, and to give them to whom they pleased, without being obliged to render any account why they did so. The citizens who embarked on this tempestuous sea, were to expect high winds and tempests, to support the caprice and levity of the People with moderation, to use their utmost endeavours to bring over such as were not in their interest, to retain the favour of such as were, and to conciliate those who declared openly against them. Those indeed who had no regard for honours might spare themselves all these pains: but as soon as they aspired to them, and set up as candidates for officers, it was necessary to undergo all these disagreeable cares, and laborious application. And this was what the haughty spirit of Coriolanus could not digest.

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Dion. l. 7.

M. MINUCIUS.
AUL. SEMPRONIUS.

P. 433---
472.
Liv. l. 2.
c. 34, 35.
Plut. in
Coriol. p.
219-224.

The preceding Consulship had been attended with great troubles; and that which begins now will be more tempestuous. The Consuls were scarce

scarce entered upon office, when advice came, A. R. 263.
Ant. C.
489. that the Deputies were returned from Sicily with fifty thousand **medimni* of corn, half of which they had purchased at a very low price, and the rest was a present from the king † of Syracuse, who had even paid for the freight of it. When it was known at Rome, that ships laden with corn were arrived from Sicily, the Patricians were a long time deliberating upon the method to be observed in the distribution of it. The most reasonable amongst them, and such as were most inclined in favour of the People were of opinion, that the king's present of corn should be given gratis to the poor citizens, and that the rest, which had been bought with the public money, should be sold at a very moderate price: that this was a certain means for appeasing the People, and for reconciling them by marks of benevolence to the nobility and the rich. But others, more proud and more averse to popular government, were for treating the Plebeians with the utmost rigour, and for having the Patricians sell the corn very dear, in order to teach them against their will to be more docile, and more obedient to the laws.

Coriolanus, the declared enemy of the Tribu- Coriolanus
declares
himself
violently
against the
People in
respect to
the distri-
bution of
corn. nitian power, of which only the name and idea put him into a fury, distinguished himself above all the rest by his violent and seditious discourse, crying out with a loud voice, that the time was come for abolishing the office of Tribunes for ever, and for re-establishing the Commonwealth in its first state. *If they are for having provisions on the ancient foot, said he, let them restore the*

* The Greeks called a measure *medimnus*, according to Eudæus, that contained fifty bushels.

† This was the famous Gelon, whom the Syracusians made King for having defeated the Carthaginians.

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Senate its ancient rights. Shall we suffer a new Plebeian magistracy, instituted to subject us? Become almost a vile slave, shall I see a Sicinius over my head, in whose presence I must bow down and crouch to the earth? Is he then better than Tarquin, whose pride we could not bear? Let him retreat: let him draw the populace after him: let him go and settle upon the sacred mountain, or on any other hill he likes best. No body hinders him: the ways are open. The populace cry famine; they lament, they despair. They well deserve it. Let them enjoy the fruits of their revolt: let them feel the evils of which themselves were the cause, by leaving our lands uncultivated. Nothing but suffering can reduce them to reason and their duty.

The People were in the highest fury, when they heard the discourse of Coriolanus repeated: for the Tribunes had been sent for by the Senate, and had been present at the deliberation. *We are now, cried they, to be attacked with famine like enemies. The corn of Sicily, the only resource that fortune offered us, is refused us. The bread is to be taken out of our mouths, unless we give up our Tribunes tied hand and foot to Coriolanus. Either death or slavery are the only choice this new tyrant leaves us.* The multitude in their rage wanted but little of forcing the gates, and entering the Senate. But the Tribunes, contenting themselves with laying the whole blame upon Coriolanus, sent to demand him, in order to his defending himself before the People. When they saw that their Lictors were driven away with violence, they went in person, attended by the Ædiles, to fetch him by force, and meeting with him as he came out of the Senate, the Ædiles prepared to seize him. The Patricians ran to his aid, kept off the Tribunes, and even

even struck some of their officers. Night put an end to this disorder, and separated them.

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From that day ensued on both sides abundance of assemblies, deliberations, and violent harangues, especially on that of the People. Sicinius, one of the Tribunes, after the sharpest invectives pronounced sentence of death a-

*Coriolanus**is cited be-**fore the**People,**and ba-**nished.*

gainst Coriolanus, as the decree of himself and his Collegues, by way of punishment for the insult committed on the persons of the Ædiles ; and he was for having him immediately thrown from the Tarpeian rock. But the Tribunes, after many vain attempts, confined themselves to citing Coriolanus to take his trial before the People. Coriolanus received that proposal at first with his usual air of haughtiness, and contempt, and did not seem in much pain about it, affirming, that the Tribunes had no power by their office, but for the defence of the People, and not to attack others, and that consequently they had no right to summon a Senator to a trial. And indeed the attempt was without example, and might have terrible consequences. The Senate was perfectly aware of them ; and contrary to the opinion of some of their body, always averse to moderate measures, they thought it necessary to try the method of favour and reconciliation. The first thing they resolved, was to set a very moderate price upon the provisions, with design to mollify the multitude. The second was, to prevail upon the Tribunes to desist, at the request of the Senate, from proceeding against Coriolanus ; or, if that could not be effected, at least to obtain delays from them, in order to give the People time to cool. The decree concerning the sale of corn was passed, and received with general satisfaction. It was conceived in these terms : “ That all things ne-
“ cessary

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“ necessary to life should be sold at as low prices
“ as before the troubles.” But the Tribunes
could not be persuaded to drop their prosecution
of Coriolanus. The only favour they would
grant, was to defer the trial as long the Con-
suls should desire it.

A circumstance that happened at this time,
supplied them with an occasion of suspending
the affair. Those of the deputies, who had been
sent to Sicily, and were bringing to Rome the
King's present of Corn to the Roman people,
were taken by pirates of Antium. They seized
the ships laden with provisions, which were in
harbour at some distance from their territory,
carried them home, put the deputies in prison,
and made prize of all their money. The Con-
suls, upon this news, sent deputies to the Anti-
ates; and upon their refusal to make satisfac-
tion, resolved to take it sword in hand. A
strong army was raised, and the Senate passed
a decree for suspending all juridical proceedings
public and private, whilst the troops should
continue in the field. But that time was shorter
than expected. The Antiates, informed that
the Romans were marching against them with
all their forces, humbly requested peace, and
sent home the prisoners with all the corn and
money they had taken. Thus the campaign
was soon over, and the army returned to
Rome.

As soon as the troops were dismissed, Sicinius
then Tribune of the People for the second time,
called an assembly, and assigned Coriolanus a
day for his appearance. The Consuls, after ha-
ving consulted the Senate, did not judge it pro-
per to abandon a matter of that consequence to
the decision of the People; and pretended that
it had been a custom from immemorial time to
propose

propose affairs first in the Senate, and afterwards to lay them before the People: a custom, which even the Kings had strictly observed. That af-

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ter the Tribunes had proposed their grievances, the Senate would determine as usual, whether the People ought to take cognizance of this accusation. The Tribune Junius, the same haranguer who had so great a share in the last troubles, made his colleagues consent at first to the proposal of the Consuls: but the next day, upon more mature reflection, being sent for by the Senate, he represented strongly, that the People could not be refused what they demanded on this occasion without manifest injustice. He pretended, "That in virtue of the law Valeria, which
 " permitted appealing from the decrees of the
 " Patrician magistrates to the judgment of the
 " People, they had a right to summon Corio-
 " lanus directly before their tribunal, without
 " having occasion for any decree of the Senate.
 " He insisted very much on the equality of the
 " power and authority, which ought to subsist
 " between the Senate and People, as equally
 " forming the two parts of the state." *The Peo-*

*ple, continued he, have had the honour of sustain-
 ing bloody wars in conjunction with you, and it is
 with their aid that you have terminated them suc-
 cessfully. You are obliged to them for not being
 subjected to the yoke of any other People, and for
 the power of giving the law to all your neighbours.
 It is therefore but just that the equality between you
 and us should be well established. Now in what
 manner is this equality, which is no more than our
 natural Right, to be attained, if the fear of tri-
 als is not employed as a barrier against all persons
 whatsoever who should presume to make attempts
 against our lives and liberties? We do not dispute
 the first rank, nor the splendor of the magistracy,*
with

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with you: nor do we envy those amongst you the marks of honour upon whom fortune and their valour have conferred them. But all of us, as citizens, have the same right not to suffer outrages and insults with impunity. As much therefore as we are disposed to yield you all the splendour of your prerogatives, so much are we resolved to support our equality with you in all that relates to natural right. If any of us had happened to speak of your order with the fury Coriolanus vented against ours, what had been your resentment! He has ventured to say publickly, and in the face of the whole city, that it was necessary to abolish for ever the Tribunitian power, the asylum of the People, the bulwark of liberty, and the pledge of our peace and re-union; and that the time was come for letting loose your wrath against the People, in crushing them by misery and famine. And you are for having us suffer such an insolence to pass with impunity; and that it should not be in our power, without your permission, to try so criminal a citizen, because he is one of your body!

When Junius had spoke to this effect, and his colleagues had added what they thought fit, the Senate began to give their opinions. Appius was one of the first that spoke, which he did with his usual vehemence. *I should have been glad to have been deceived in my conjectures, said he, as I have often prayed the Gods I might, when I foresaw that you would find neither honour, equity, nor advantage, in the return of our revolvers. And accordingly, as often as that affair was brought into deliberation, I was always both the first to oppose that peace, and the last that persisted in my opinion, even when I saw myself abandoned by every body. You now see, Fathers, that my suspicions and fears were but too well founded, and that your favours have been attended only with*
the

the hatred and enmity of those upon whom you conferred them. Not contented with having obtained the remittance of their debts, and a general amnesty of their revolt, they extorted the office of Tribunes from you ; under pretence of moderating your power, and of having protectors against the violence of the Great, but in reality to subvert the foundations of the commonwealth, and to transfer the government of the state from us to the People : a mortal wound to your authority, at which we shall long, very long, bleed. And now behold another, I venture to say more dangerous than the first, which they are preparing to give you, in seeming to attack only Coriolanus. Though there were nothing more in question, than the particular interests of a Senator, so distinguished by his birth, valour, and great actions, honour would oblige us all to expose ourselves for preventing one of our body from appearing before the People, who in regard to him would be accusers, witnesses, and judges, as well as arbiters of the punishment consequential of their sentence. And indeed, to consent to such an enormity, were to carry a man to execution, not to a trial according to the rules of justice. But other far more important interests are now at stake. Yourself, Fathers, your authority, your whole body, are now struck at. They pretend to have a right to try every Senator independently of you. And upon what do they found this pretension? Why upon the law Valeria, wherein there is not a single word to that purpose ; and which has no other intent, than to contribute to the ease of the Plebeian families, by permitting them to appeal from the judgments of the magistrates to those of the People. If such a pretension be suffered to take place, (which may the Gods forbid) I repeat it, Fathers, there is an end of the Senate. Remember, that hitherto your condescensions and easiness have ruined every

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thing, and be assured that you will never obtain any thing from the People but by inflexible severity.

This discourse of Appius was differently received, according to the diversity of opinions that divided the Senate: but it appeared in general too violent with respect to the present conjuncture. When he had done, Manius Valerius rose up to speak: he was, as we have already seen, the most moderate and popular of all the Senators. He highly praised those who feared nothing so much as rekindling dangerous quarrels for light causes, and who preferred concord and good understanding to every other interest. He added, “ That in leaving the People the
“ liberty of trying, and the Senate giving them
“ that mark of their good-will, the affair per-
“ haps would go no farther: that contented
“ with seeing themselves masters of the fate of
“ Coriolanus, they would treat him with more
“ favour than rigour. That if the Tribunes
“ urged their prosecution to the utmost, and
“ would observe all the usual formalities, the
“ decision would at least depend on the suffra-
“ ges of the People: that then the People could
“ not fail of acquitting Coriolanus, either out
“ of respect to his person, whose merit and
“ great actions they well knew, or in gratitude
“ to the Senate, who had complied with their
“ instances, and granted them this new power.
“ However, he exhorted the Consuls, Senators,
“ and all the Patricians, to be present at the
“ trial, and to intreat the People not to act
“ with severity: That their presence would be
“ of infinite weight towards preserving the
“ life of the accused.” But he addressed himself to Coriolanus with most force, and joining remonstrances with exhortations, and prayers with authority, he did his utmost to induce his compliance,

pliance. “ He conjured him, as he was ac-^{A.R. 263.}
 “ cused of being the cause of the feuds, which^{Ant. C. 489.}
 “ had arose between the People and Senate, as
 “ his natural loftiness was interpreted a secret
 “ propensity to tyranny, and as an open rup-
 “ ture was apprehended on his account, with
 “ all the misfortunes that attend civil wars,
 “ not to confirm the ideas conceived of him,
 “ by too much obstinacy, and the inflexibility
 “ of his disposition. He represented to him,
 “ that it was much better to assume more gen-
 “ tle and moderate sentiments, to appear as an
 “ accused person, and abandon himself to the
 “ discretion of those who made complaints
 “ against him, and to justify himself against
 “ the calumnies laid to his charge. He im-
 “ plored him in the name of the gods and
 “ his country, that he would add to his many
 “ other excellent qualities a little more mild-
 “ ness and condescension, in order to prevent
 “ the fatal effects of civil dissensions, of which
 “ he drew a lively and pathetic picture, which
 “ he accompanied with tears.”

Seeing the Senate much moved, he continued to speak with still greater confidence as follows. *Suffer me, Fathers, to open my heart to you, and to explain freely what I have long thought. If there be any means in our power, either for continuing the Commonwealth in its present flourishing condition, or for preserving unity and concord amongst us, which I consider as its life and soul ; I know nothing that can conduce so much to those desirable ends, as admitting the People into the administration of affairs, and so to temper the government thereby, that neither the Patricians nor Plebeians may engross all authority, but dividing it with each other, that both may concur to the common good. When only one of the two orders*

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has the sovereign power in their hands, it may easily escape them, and be carried to excess. But if, by a wise and just mixture, that power be divided between them, the least abuse of it, the least innovation, and departure from discipline committed by the one, will be opposed by the other, more faithful and determinate to obviate such faults, and to support order in all its force. A small number of persons of worth suffice for subverting the tyrannical power of one man, when it degenerates into pride and cruelty, as we have happily experienced. In a State governed as the Commonwealth now is, by a certain choice of distinguished persons, if those in office, corrupted by luxury and opulence, should go so far as to despise justice and the other virtues, it is the business of a wise people to reform them, and to frustrate their pernicious views. And when the people on their side forget themselves, and from the due bounds of submission proceed to licence and disorder, it is incumbent on the great persons of the State to reduce them by force to their duty. It is this balance, this division of power, that constitutes the safety of a State. If I apprehend that the spirit of tyranny may introduce itself into the Senate, it is not with respect to the present time : it is not you, Fathers, that I have in view, who have shewn yourselves the enemies of tyrants in their destruction. But, when I consider who may come after us, and reflect on the unhappy changes time may induce, I cannot dissemble my concern, and the fear I am in, that the Senate, become too powerful in process of time, should change the form of the State, and deceiving the people by specious artifices, re-establish the authority of a single person.

In admitting the people to share in the government of the Commonwealth, you obviate these inconveniencies.

conveniencies. A man whose ambition should make him desire to exalt himself above all others, and who, to succeed therein, should form a faction in the Senate, ready to undertake any thing for his service; (I beg you will not be offended at such a supposition; when we have the public good in view, it is allowable to suppose any thing) such a man, however high his credit might be, would find opposers in the Tribunes, who would have good reason to summon him to a trial, and to oblige him to give an account of his conduct before a whole people, though of a rank and condition much inferior to his own; and if he were found guilty of any treason, he would be subject as well as others to the punishment his crime should deserve. But lest the people, invested with so great a power, should grow licentious in the use of it, and seduced by bad advisers, should render themselves formidable to the nobility, (for the small are no less susceptible of tyranny than the great) to repel their insolence, and reduce them to their duty, in such conjunctures, a Dictator of known prudence and zeal might be created, whose absolute and unlimited power might put a stop to the evil in his birth. This plan of government, as long as a wise balance is preserved between the two parties, that compose it, will constitute the happiness and strength of Rome; and is what now induces me to desire, that you will grant the People the power they demand of trying Marcius.

Coriolanus seeing all the Senators, except a very small number, give into the opinion of Valerius, and that the Senate was upon the point of passing their decree, demanded, as they were determined contrary to his expectation to give him up to the People, that the Tribunes might be ordered to declare of what crime they accused him, and upon what head they pretended

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to proceed against him. After having conferred together, they answered that they accused him of having affected the Tyranny, and that he was to justify himself as to that point. *If to refute that pretended crime be all*, replied Coriolanus, *I abandon myself to the judgment of the People, and do not oppose the decree of the Senate.* That decree was immediately passed: but according to custom, the accused was granted a suspension till the third market day for preparing his apology.

Those markets, amongst the Romans, were held every ninth day. On those days the inhabitants of the country came to the city to sell their goods, and to terminate the differences they had with each other. They also gave their voices at the same time upon all that was brought before the People, whether contests were to be decided, laws instituted, or magistrates chosen. The space of three market days, which included twenty seven days compleat, was always allowed, before any thing was decided concerning any affair, in order that nobody might be ignorant of the matter in deliberation. This was an indispensable formality, with respect to the validity of all that was done by the authority of the People.

When the Tribunes had received the decree of the Senate, they repaired to the Forum, where after having assembled the People, they read it, and gave it great praises. They afterwards assigned Coriolanus a day for making his defence, and for the decision of his cause.

When that day arrived, great numbers of the inhabitants of the country poured into the city, and took possession of the Forum at day-break. The expectation of both parties was equally great, each side considering the success of this

affair, as the blow which was to determine their ^{A.R. 263.} safety and liberty. The Patricians earnestly ^{Ant. C. 489.} demanded, that the assembly of the People should be held by centuries, in which they were sure of the plurality of voices for reasons which have been given above : but the Tribunes having represented, that in an affair, wherein the rights of the People, and the liberty of the public were concerned, it was but just that all the citizens, without regard to rank or riches, should have an equal right to give their suffrages ; they carried also this point, and prevailed, that the assemblies should be held by tribes, in which all conditions being confounded, the advantage was manifestly on the side of the Plebeians and the poor, who always made the majority in them. It was upon occasion of the trial of Coriolanus, that the Roman People gave their voices by tribes for the first time.

Before the cause came on, the Consul Minucius first ascended the Tribunal, and spoke in the name of the whole Senate. “ After having
 “ enumerated all the favours the Patricians had
 “ heaped upon the People, insisted much upon
 “ the advantages of peace and unity, and
 “ strongly recommended to take the counsel in
 “ so important an affair of those whom they
 “ knew to be persons of honour and probity,
 “ and truly affected to their country ; he concluded with exhorting them not to condemn
 “ Coriolanus, to acquit him in consideration of
 “ his great merit, and to remember the prodigies of valour and bravery which he had
 “ shewn on so many occasions for the defence
 “ of the dominion and liberty of the Roman
 “ People. He represented to them, that it did
 “ not consist either with their justice or wisdom to confine themselves to some vain

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“ words, which might have escaped him in
 “ the heat of discourse, and to forget the ac-
 “ knowledgment they owed him for so many glo-
 “ rious exploits. That they had one great motive
 “ for piquin themselves on their generosity in
 “ respect to him, as he had submitted himself
 “ to the discretion of his enemies, and consent-
 “ ed to stand the award of their judgment.
 “ That if, always implacable in their anger and
 “ hatred, they refused to be reconciled to him,
 “ they would have some regard at least for the
 “ Senate, who earnestly demanded their grace
 “ for Coriolanus. That they would suffer them-
 “ selves to be moved by the entreaties of three
 “ hundred of the principal citizens of Rome,
 “ who made his interest their own in the strict-
 “ est manner: and that, if they would not ac-
 “ quit him as innocent, they would at least
 “ grant so great a number of illustrious suppli-
 “ ants their pardon for a single criminal. He
 “ concluded with putting the Tribunes in mind
 “ not to alledge any crime against Marcius, but
 “ that of aspiring at the tyranny, according to
 “ their engagement before the Senate.”

After the Consul quitted the tribunal, Sici-
 nius, the principal Tribune, who had prepared
 his speech long before, made a long detail of all
 that Coriolanus had either said or done to pre-
 vent the lessening the price of corn, and for
 abolishing the office of Tribune, under pre-
 tence of the relation of those words and facts to
 the crime of tyranny.

Coriolanus now prepared to speak. He went
 back to his earliest youth, and began with a long
 enumeration of the campaigns he had served for
 the defence of the Commonwealth, the crowns
 he had received from the hands of the generals,
 the prisoners he had taken from the enemy, the
 citizens

citizens he had saved in battle ; and called to witness the captains under whom he had served, and those who owed him their lives, each by their names, for they were present, and gave evidence for him with laments and groans. But when he proceeded to tear off his robes, and shew the honourable wounds he had received before, and asked the Tribunes whether those were the proofs of the crime of which they accused him, and of actions that tended to the tyranny ; almost all that were present were moved even to tears.

The Tribunes, who perceived that their criminal was upon the point of escaping out of their hands, changed their attack, and laid a new crime to his charge ; this was, his not having delivered into the public treasury, as the law directed, the spoils which he had taken in the country of the Antiates, but having divided them amongst his soldiers, in order to make himself creatures, to be employed upon occasion for his pernicious designs, according to the custom of usurpers, whose largesses are their usual methods for the attainment of the tyranny.

This new accusation perplexed Coriolanus, who did not expect it, and therefore made but a bad reply ; and it occasioned a great change in the minds of the multitude, always fluctuating, and accustomed to abandon themselves blindly to the slightest impressions. The Tribunes passed sentence of perpetual banishment against the accused : it was the custom for them to pronounce their judgments first. Their opinion was afterwards referred to the deliberation of the Tribes ; which were twenty one in number. Nine of them voted for acquitting Coriolanus, and the other twelve for condemning him.

When

A.R. 263.
Ant. C.
489.

When the sentence was passed, the People were more rejoiced, and conceived greater pride and haughtiness, than from all the battles they had ever gained, believing that they had entirely reduced the power of the Patricians by this blow : but the Senate was so much afflicted and confounded at it, that they could not hold up their heads, and perceived then the irreparable fault they had committed; complaining highly of Valerius, whose advice was considered as a criminal timidity, that had betrayed the interests of his order, and rendered the People the absolute arbiters of the fate of the principal citizens.

Coriolanus was conducted home amidst the tears and lamentations of his friends, whom so terrible a stroke had quite overwhelmed with grief. As for himself, far from complaining of his disgrace, far from being softened with the tears he occasioned, or from shewing the least sign of weakness, he appeared more undaunted, and greater than ever. The sight of his wife and mother, who tore their habits, beat their breasts, and filled the whole house with their cries, at the moment of the most affecting separation, neither staggered his courage, nor abated his constancy. He contented himself with speaking kindly to them, and exhorting them to bear their misfortune with patience. He recommended his children to their care, of whom the one was ten years old, and the other still at the breast; and without giving his family any other marks of his tenderness, or carrying any thing with him into banishment, he went to the gates of the city, attended by a small number of clients, who would not leave him, and said nothing to any body of the place he had pitched upon for his retreat.

Corio-

Coriolanus was cotemporary with Themistocles, whose fate was almost the same. (a) For both, after having rendered their country important services, were condemned to banishment by the injustice of an ungrateful people, and retired into banishment amongst the enemy, where they died.

A.R. 263.
Ant. C.
489.

We have already seen two mortal wounds given the authority of the Senate; the institution of Tribunes, and the power of trying the Senators granted to the People. Whatever augmentation the Power of the People received from thence, was so much lost to that of the Patricians: and the latter were more to be blamed on that account, as it was by their own fault that change happened. Most of them, especially the youngest, were full of contempt for the Plebeians, whom they considered as the dregs of the commonwealth, incapable of entering into the administration of affairs, unworthy of filling any place of importance, and whom, for that reason, they were for keeping perpetually in a state of meanness and servitude. Was there any equity, or even prudence, in this conduct? Were the Patricians a different species of men from the Plebeians? Was there not often as solid merit of every kind to be found amongst the latter as amongst the former? Did they not form a part of the state, and infinitely the most numerous, as well as them? Would it not have consisted with the wisdom of the Patricians to have divided the advantages of the government with those, who supported as well as themselves, and much more than them, both its expences and dangers? The People will ob-

(a) Uterque, cum civis hostes contulit, conatumque egregius fuisset, populi ingrati pulsus injuria, se ad iracundiæ suæ morte sedavit, Cic. in Brut. n. 42.

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489.

tain by degrees and successively all the dignities of the State ; but it will always be in a manner at the point of the sword, and after long conflicts. What may be said in excuse of the Senate, is, that the opinions of the wisest were not always followed : an inconvenience common enough in great bodies. It is however remarkable, that notwithstanding this haughtiness, which is in a manner natural to the Nobility, violent counsels seldom or ever took place in the Senate ; and that, though they did not give way with great repugnance, they chose at least, when the danger was urgent, rather to abandon their rights, than to perpetuate divisions, or excite a civil war.

Some few days after the departure of Coriolanus, the election of Consuls came on, when the People elected

A. R. 264.
Ant. C.
488.

Q. Sulpitius Camerinus.
Sp. Largius Flavius II.

*Coriolanus
retires to
the Volsci,
whom he
engages in
a war
with
Rom.*

Dion. l. 7.
p. 472---
480. & l.
8. p. 480,
530.
Liv. l. 2.
c. 35---40.
Alut. in
Coriol. p.
224, 233.

Coriolanus left Rome full of hatred and fury against his country, and meditating a signal vengeance against it. He retired with this view to Antium amongst the Volsci, to sollicit them to take arms, knowing them to be powerful in troops and money, and conceiving rightly, that the blows they had received in the last war, had not so much diminished their forces, as excited their jealousy, and augmented their animosity. The bitter complaints and violent menaces which he was often heard to vent against Rome, occasioned the Volsci to place an entire confidence in him, which augmented every day. He lodged at the house of Artius Tullus, a person of the highest credit in his country, as well for his birth as his riches, authority, and the

the merit of his great actions. Their common hatred of Rome easily extinguished the personal enmity which had long subsisted between them, and even soon united them in a firm friendship. Tullus was for losing no time, and for marching to Rome with all the forces of the Volsci, whilst the sedition was still on foot, and the city had none but weak chiefs at the head of it. Coriolanus did not believe it necessary to be so hasty. The Volsci had lost abundance of people in the preceding war, not to mention the ravages lately made by the plague in their country ; and there was reason to fear, that they could not easily be induced to resume their arms, after their ill success. Besides which, there was a suspension of arms between the Romans and them, and a truce of two years confirmed by a treaty, which it was to be wished that the Romans should be the first to break. The means for this Coriolanus supplied, which Tullus highly approved, and which succeeded effectually, as we are going to shew.

Rome was preparing to celebrate the Great Games over again upon account of a very singular event, which I shall relate as I find it in my Authors, tho' I am far from being willing to answer for the truth of it. In the morning of the day on which they had been represented, the master of a slave had made him cross the Circus in a very mournful equipage, having caused him to be whipt through it with rods severely ; and immediately after the games began. After some days were elapsed, Jupiter Capitolinus, say our authors, appeared in the night to an old Plebeian, named Atinius, and ordered him to go to the Consuls, and tell them, that Jupiter was not satisfied with the person who led the dance in the last games : that they should give him

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Ant. C.
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him another dancer, and begin the festival again: and that otherwise it would be the worse for them. The good man when he waked, despised this dream, as one of those phantoms of the night, to which no regard was to be had, and was afraid to go to the magistrates with a story that might make him ridiculous. His disobedience cost him dear: his son died suddenly, without having been sick. The next night, Jupiter appeared to him again, and asked him, how he liked his contempt of the order of the gods; and added, that if he persisted in his disobedience, something still worse would befall him. The menace was terrible. However, as he still delayed, himself was suddenly struck with the palsy, which deprived him of the use of all his members. He could now defer it no longer. He caused himself to be carried in a chair to the Senate, where he related all that had happened. He had no sooner done speaking, than the use of his limbs was restored. Jupiter ought also in justice to have restored him his son.

Every body knows how high the credulity and superstition of the Romans rose. They did not doubt but that the slave, whose pain had made him make such terrible contorsions a moment before the solemnity began, was the bad Dancer, who had displeased Jupiter. The master who had treated his slave so unmercifully was sought for, and after he had been punished as he deserved, the Senate, by an express decree, appointed new games in honour of the same god; and in order to make them the more magnificent, expended twice as much money upon them, as had been employed in the first.

C. JUNIUS.

C. JUNIUS.

P. PINARIUS.

A.R. 265.
Ant.C.
487.

These games were celebrated in the Consulship of Junius and Pinarius, immediately after their entering upon office. All the youth of the Volsci, at the desire of Tullus, repaired from their several cities to Rome, and their numbers were so great, that abundance of them were obliged to retire into the sacred and public places, private houses not sufficing to contain them. They were seen walking about the city in large troops, so that people began to conceive suspicions of some bad design. In the mean time a person of confidence, suborned by Tullus to inform the Consuls as he was instructed, acquitted himself of his commission, and went to them, pretending to have a secret of importance to discover. After having made them engage by oath to observe inviolable secrecy, he declared to them, that the Volsci had conspired to attack them during the games, and to set fire to the city. The Consuls did not doubt the truth of his report. Without losing time they assembled the Senate, who were no less credulous; and an order was instantly given for all the Volsci to quit the city before night upon pain of death. It was necessary to comply without reply or delay.

Tullus, who had left it with the first, stopt on purpose at a certain place; where after having gathered about him a great number of the Volsci, whom he found in the highest indignation, and breathing nothing but revenge: *Are you sensible,* said he, *of the ignominy with which you have just been treated? What! in the face of all the strangers, all the neighbouring states, and so numerous*
an

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Ant C.
487.

an assembly, do they shamefully drive you out of Rome like impious and profane wretches, whose presence would have polluted the solemnity of the games! A day's delay would have cost us our lives, for which we are indebted to our immediate departure, if it may not rather be called shameful and infamous flight. So gross an affront is an open declaration of war, to the great misfortune of those who have made it, if you are men of courage. Full of resentment before of themselves, and still exasperated more by this discourse of Tullus, each returned to his own home, carrying with them a warm desire of revenge, which they easily communicated to all that heard the account of what had passed. The general assembly of the Volsci was called immediately after, and a war with the Romans, as the first infractors of the treaty, unanimously resolved. The command of the troops was given to Tullus and Coriolanus.

Whilst preparations were making for the war, Coriolanus, to lose no time, took with him the most resolute of the Volsci, and made a sudden irruption into the country of the Romans, before they suspected any such attempt. He made great spoils there; but whilst he ravaged the whole country, he gave orders for sparing the lands of the nobility; which very much augmented the dissention between the Patricians and People, as he had rightly foreseen. After that expedition, which infinitely exalted the courage of the Volsci, and made them despise their enemies, Coriolanus led back his troops without having lost a single man.

When the Volsci had assembled all their forces, they were divided into two bodies; the one for the defence of the country, and the other to act against the Romans. Tullus, who had the
choice

choice of them, left the command of the latter ^{A. R. 205, Ant. C. 487.} to Coriolanus, on whose merit every body greatly relied. And he did not deceive the hopes they had entertained of him (a): which shews that the force of Rome consisted more in the ability of her generals, than in the number of her troops. Coriolanus marched first against the city of Circeii a Roman colony, which surrendering at discretion, was not plundered. From thence he marched to ravage the country of the Latines, in hopes that the Romans would move to give him battle in defence of their allies. But as the Consuls had only a very short time to continue in office, they were unwilling to hazard any thing: so that Coriolanus besieged and took several of the strongest places.

SP. NAUTIUS.

SEX. FURIUS.

A R 255,

Ant. C.

486.

Coriolanus advanced with his troops towards Rome, and encamped at the *fissa Cluilia*, about ^{Coriolanus forms the siege of Rome. He} forty * furlongs from Rome. His approach struck Rome with alarm and dread. The wo- ^{treats the} men were seen running to and fro about the ^{embassy of} streets in despair, and the temples were filled ^{the den- tress, and that of the} with disconsolate old men imploring the aid of ^{Priests,} the Gods. (b) The people seldom esteem true ^{with con- tempt,} merit, whilst they possess it. Full of disdain and contempt for this illustrious person, we have seen with what haughtiness they treated him in

(a) Ut appareret ducibus ^{eight stad a.} validiorem quam exercitu ^{stad. were something less than} rem Romanam esse ^{two leagues.} Liv. l. 2. c. 30.

(b) Fastidiosus ille in a li- ^{mandis bonis suis populus,} mandis bonis suis populus, ^{qui eo non pepercerat, exa-} qui eo non pepercerat, exa- ^{l. coactus est supplicare. Val.} l. coactus est supplicare. Val. ^{Max. l. 5. c. 4} Max. l. 5. c. 4
p. 818, contained very near

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486.

respect to his trial : and now behold the same people reduced to appear and crouch like suppliants before him, not finding any other resource but in his clemency, to which they are determined recourse shall be had at all events. This was not the Senate's opinion. They had decreed, that no treaty or peace with the Volsci should be mentioned, till they were retired out of the territory of Rome : but on this occasion they were not masters. At the warm and pressing instances of the People they could not avoid sending ambassadors to Coriolanus to offer to recal him, and to implore him to put an end to this war. Though they were all either his relations or friends, he received them with extraordinary haughtiness and distance, and for his whole answer declared to them, *That if the Romans desired to treat of peace, they should begin by restoring to the Volsci all the places and lands they had taken from them during the preceding wars, and by granting them the freedom of Rome, as they had done the Latines : (a) that otherwise he would make them sensible, that banishment, far from depressing, had only exalted his courage.* Upon their returning a second time to implore him to moderate his resentment, he did not deign to give them the hearing.

Rome was then in great consternation, but however did not lose all hope. A new deputation was sent to him, composed of the Pontiffs, Augurs, and Priests, in their robes of ceremony, and in some measure carrying the majesty of the Gods along with them. But he treated them with as little regard.

In this sad extremity, the Roman ladies assembled at the house of Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, *raises the siege at the request of his mother, and returns into banishment.*

(c) Admisurum ut appareat exilio sibi irritatos non fractos animos esse.

Coriolanus.

Coriolanus. They knew the tender respect that A.R. 2. 6.
generous Roman had always borne his mother : Ant. C.
a fine example for young persons! Plutarch ob- 486.

serves that he distinguished himself more from those of his age in this point, than by his valour and great actions. Instead of proposing glory to himself like others as the end of his exploits, Coriolanus referred glory itself to another end, which was the satisfaction and delight of his mother. That she might hear him praised, that she might see him adorned with a crown as the reward due to his valour, that she might embrace him victorious, shedding tears of joy, these made him in his sense the most happy and the most glorious of mankind. The Roman ladies believed therefore, that Rome had still a resource left in the mother of that haughty exile.

* Veturia did not refuse herself to her country, and attended by * Volumnia the wife of Coriolanus, and the two boys she had by him, of whom one was an infant in her arms, she went to the camp of the enemy, followed by a great number of other ladies. (a) The women in this manner undertook to defend a city by their prayers and tears, which the men were no longer able to defend by force of arms.

(b) At the approach of those ladies, before who they were could be distinguished, Coriolanus,

* Plutarch calls Coriolanus's mother Volumnia, and his wife Virgilia.

(a) Et, quam armis viri defendere urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrymisque defenderunt.

(b) Ubi ad castra ventum est, nuntiatumque Coriolano adesse ingens mulierum agmen, in primo, ut qui nec

publica majestate in legatis, nec in sacerdotibus tanta confusa oculis animoque religione motus esset, multo obstinatio-
rior adversus lacrymas mulie-
bres erat. Dein familia iam
quidem, qui insignem mœ-
stitia inter ceteras cognoverat
Veturiam, inter nuntia ne-
potesque stantem : Nisi ne
jussissent, inquit, oculi, ma-

A R. 266.
A. L. C.
486.

nus, whom neither the Majesty of an august embassy, nor respect for religion and the priesthood, had been capable of moving, believed himself much better proof against the tears of a troop of women. But upon being told by one of his officers, that he thought he perceived his mother, wife, and children advancing towards him, he threw himself from his tribunal, and ran, almost out of his senses, and full of trouble and anguish, to embrace his mother. That truly Roman lady, employing anger instead of prayers, and pushing back her son with her hand: Stay, said she to him with a look and tone of resentment, *let me know before I receive your embraces, whether it is to a son or an enemy that I speak, and whether you regard me as your mother, or your captive? Was it for this that my unhappy age was reserved? Have I lived so long, only first to see you banished, and then the enemy of your country? Have you been capable of ravaging the land that gave you birth, and brought you up in its bosom? How violent soever thy desire of revenge might be, whatever resentment thou mightest have,*

ter tibi conjuxque & liberi adjunt. Coriolanus prope ut amens, consternatus, ab sede sua cum ferret matri obviam complexum. mulier in iram ex precibus versa: *Sine priusquam complexum accipis, sciam,* inquit, *ad hostem, an ad filium venis; captiva matris in castris tuis sis? In hac me longa vita & infelix senectus traxit, ut exulem te, deinde esse te viderem? Potuisti perquirari hanc terram, quæ te genuit atque aluit? Non tibi, quamvis infesto animo & minaci perveneras, ingredienti*

finis ira cecidit? Non cum in conspectu Roma fuit, succurri, Intra illa mœnia domus ac penates mei sunt, mater, conjux, liberique? Ergo, ego nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur? Nisi filium haberem, libera in libera patria mortua essem? Sed ego nihil jam pati, nec tibi turpius quam mihi miserius possum; nec, ut sim miserum, dum futura sum. De his videris; quos, si pergis, aut immatura mors, aut longa servitus manet. Liv. c. 40.

did not the sight of these plains disarm thy rage? and when Rome appeared before thy eyes, didst thou not think with thyself, Those walls which I am going to attack inclose all that is dearest to me in the world, my house, my household-Gods, my mother, my wife, and children? Had I then not been a mother, Rome had not been besieged. Had I not had a son, I had died free in my free country. But I can suffer nothing now, that is not more shameful for you, than miserable for me; neither will my misery, however great, be of long continuance. Be these infants then your care; who, if you persist, are to suffer either an untimely death, or a long slavery.

This discourse of Veturia was followed with the laments and groans of all the Roman ladies, who deplored their own and their country's misfortune. Coriolanus could not withstand the reproaches of a mother, for whom he had always had so much respect and tenderness. He embraced her, and cried out in her arms: *Oh! mother, you have gained a cruel victory, that will soon prove fatal to me.*

So tender a regard for a mother is highly estimable: but he ought to have remembered that he owed still more regard to his country. And yet with what obduracy he received it in the persons of the Embassadors! and with what contempt did he treat religion itself in the Pontiffs who represented it! He did not know the different degrees of duties according to the (a) law of nature, which gives the first rank to the Di-

(a) Sunt gradus officiorum, patriæ, tertia parentibus, deinceps gradatim reliquis debeantur. *Off.c. 1. n. 160.*
 ex quibus quod cuique præstet intelligi possit: ut prima Diis immortalibus, secunda

A.R. 226. vinity, the next to our country ; after which
Ant C. comes that to fathers and mothers.

485.

Death of
Coriolanus.

Coriolanus, after having spoke in this manner to Veturia, decamped. A treaty was concluded between the Romans and Volsci, and Rome was delivered from the danger. Authors do not agree concerning what became of Coriolanus after the siege. Some believe, that after his return to Antium with the army, Tullus, who was become jealous of his glory and too great authority, caused him to be killed in a popular commotion : others say he died in a different manner. Livy seems to adhere to the opinion of the ancient historian Fabius Pictor, who makes him live to a very great age, and repeats a famous saying of his, *That banishment was a miserable thing, but much more so to an old man.*

Multo mi-
serius seni
exilium
esse.

He was equally regretted both by the Volsci and Romans, with whom his memory was ever after in great honour. The Roman ladies, in particular, shewed as much concern and grief, as it was customary to express when they lost their nearest relations. They quitted their gold and purple, and other ornaments, and wore a general mourning for an whole year.

The men were not jealous of the glory the ladies had acquired by delivering their country from so great a danger. The Senate, in conjunction with the People, decreed, that a temple should be erected to Female Fortune, (*Fortunæ muliebri*) to preserve the remembrance of so singular an event by a public monument. It was built upon the road called *via Latina*, at five miles from Rome, that is to say in the place where Coriolanus's mother had disarmed him by her remonstrances. This temple was finished and dedicated the year following.

Only the women had a right to enter it, and offer their prayers and sacrifices to the Goddesses. A.R. 266.
Ant. C.

We have seen Coriolanus, with many excellent qualities, end his life in a very miserable manner. 486.
Dyonyf.
Hal.

Few Romans had more merit than him. He was above the pleasures that engross youth. He loved justice, not from the necessity which the laws impose, or through fear of punishments, but out of inclination, and an happy propensity which seemed born with him. He did not esteem innocence as a virtue, so great was his horror for vice, and his zeal to inspire others with an aversion for it. Never had son more respect and complaisance for his mother than him. Becoming an orphan by the death of his father, he believed that he owed Veturia the same proportion of tenderness and respect, as he should have owed his father, had he lived. He was liberal and magnificent, and never suffered his friends to languish in indigence. He had a wonderful and incomparable talent for war, and but for the obstacles which he met with from the seditious, the Roman power, under his conduct, would have acquired great augmentations.

A prevailing fault, which he had not taken care to correct in his youth, lost him the fruit and merit of so many fine qualities. He wanted complacency and condescension. He had not that graceful carriage, those engaging manners, which prejudice people in a person's favour, and win the heart. His disposition was rough, and hard to reconcile, when once offended. Incapable of moderation in his resentment, he carried his anger to the most vicious extremities. In a word, he wanted that address and wise flexibility which gives way to the necessity of affairs, and adapts itself to the difference of characters,

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486.

characters, with which a man has to deal. Always fullen and untractable, he vented his ill humour without distinction, and without respect to persons. Nothing hurt him more in the field than a genius so unfit for society. His excessive rigour for supporting the laws and discipline, that never admitted any medium, his too literal attachment to what he believed equitable, which rose to an inflexible obstinacy, contributed more than any thing to irritate the People, and give them an aversion for him. Young persons of quality should learn from this example, how important it is to get the better of, and to subdue what is called humour or temper: for this was the reigning vice of Coriolanus.

This vice led him on by imperceptible degrees to that which of all excesses is the most horrid, and has the most fatal consequences: this was to take arms against his country. (a) Other crimes are limited in their effects, and often extend no farther than one, or at most a small number of persons. But this, extinguishing in the heart all natural tenderness for the country that gave us birth, turns its fury against an whole city, an whole nation, carrying along with it ravages, fire and sword, murders, violations, and the most dreadful sacrileges. And this is what Coriolanus prepared for his country. It had indeed treated him unworthily, in repaying the important services he had done it by banishment. But did he not know (b), that it is with our country, as with our fathers and

(a) In aliis maleficiis ad singulos aut ad paucos ex alieno peccato injuria pervenit: hujus celeris qui sunt affines, uno consilio universis civibus atrocissimas calamitates machinantur. *Ad Heren. l. 4. n. 12.*
(b) Ut parentum sævitiam, sic patriæ, patiendo ac ferendo leniendam esse. *Liv. l. 27. c. 34.*

mothers,

mothers, from whom children ought to suffer A.R. 266.
the worst treatment with patience (a); and that Ant. C.
there never can be a just cause for taking arms 486.
against it. He was of the number of those Ci-
cero (b) speaks of, who believe it their duty,
and are ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes
for their country; but would not suffer the least
affront or injury to their reputation for it.
This is false delicacy, a mistaken love of glory.
Great men do not think in this manner; of
whom the Roman History will supply us with
many examples.

(a) Præsertim cùm omnino nulla causa justa cuiquam esse possit contra patriam arma capiendi. *Philip. 2. n. 53.*
(b) Inventi autem multi sunt, qui non modò pecu-
niam, sed vitam etiam pro-
fundere pro patria parati es-
sent; iisdem gloriæ jacturam
ne minimam quidem facere
vellent. *Offic. 1. n. 84.*

C H A P. II.

Sp. Cassius the Consul endeavours to usurp the sovereignty. He is accused before the People, condemned to die, and executed. Dissensions between the Tribunes and Consuls concerning the Agrarian law. Considerable, but bloody victory gained over the Hetrurians. Unhappy defeat of the Fabii near Cremera. Menenius is fined: Servilius acquitted. Genucius the Tribune excites new troubles: he is found dead in his bed. Violent troubles.

A.R. 226.

Ant. C.

433.

Liv. l. 2.

c. 20.

Dion. Hal.

l. 8. p.

536, 547.

SOME days after the retreat of Coriolanus, the two Consuls took the field with a numerous army. But they soon returned to Rome, without having done any thing important, though the enemy had given them the most favourable occasion. A division had arose between the Æqui and Volsci in respect to the command; which rose so high, that they turned their arms against each other with such fury, that if it had not been towards the close of the day, they had cut each other entirely to pieces. They decamped the next morning, and retired home. The Consuls were very much blamed for not having pursued them.

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Ant. C.

485.

T. SICINIUS.

C. AQUILIUS.

The Hernici and Volsci were defeated by these Consuls.

Sp.

SP. CASSIUS III.

A.R. 268.

PROCLUS VIRGINIUS.

Ant. C.

484.

Virginius was sent against the Æqui. Having laid waste the country without any resistance, he marched back his troops to Rome.

The Volsci and Hernici, against whom Cassius marched, treated a peace and alliance with the Consul, whom the Senate had empowered to regulate the conditions.

Cassius, on his return to Rome, after having obtained the honour of a triumph, which he little deserved, by his intrigues carried his ambitious views still farther, and formed the design of attaining absolute power. He rightly discerned, that the surest method to succeed in it, was to gain the favour of the People. With that view he represented to the Senate, “ that
 “ the People merited some reward for the services they had rendered the Commonwealth,
 “ for defending the public liberty, and subjecting new countries to the Roman power.
 “ That they could not be better acknowledged than by abandoning to them the lands acquired by their arms, and which appertained to the public, though the avarice of some Patricians had appropriated them to themselves. That such liberality would enable the poor Plebeians to bring up children for the benefit of the Commonwealth, and that only so equitable a distribution could establish that equality, which ought to subsist between the citizens of the same state.” He associated in this privilege the Latines settled at Rome, who had obtained the freedom of the city.

This

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Ant. C.
484.
*Diffension
concerning
the Agra-
rian law*

This is (a) the first time *the Agrarian law* is mentioned, that is to say, the law that ordained the distribution of lands amongst the People. We shall see in the sequel, that it occasioned great troubles in the Commonwealth, and was, in the hands of the Tribunes, a kind of combustible matter of division and discord, always ready to be set on fire. And indeed this law, which had a great appearance of equity in itself, must have pleased the People extremely, whose misery it relieved. When the Romans had gained any considerable advantage over their neighbours, they never granted them peace, till they had taken part of their territory from them, which was immediately incorporated with that of Rome. Part of these conquests were sold to indemnify the state for the expences of the war. Another portion of them was distributed gratis amongst the poor Plebeians, who had no settlement of their own. Sometimes some cantons of them were farmed out for the benefit of the public. Rapacious Patricians, solely intent upon enriching themselves, took possession of part of those lands by methods, which we shall relate more particularly in the sequel. It was of these lands, unjustly usurped by the rich, that Cassius was for having a new distribution made in favour of the poor citizens.

This proposal very much alarmed the Senators: some, because they were personally interested in it, and others, because they apprehended its dangerous consequences. It soothed the People agreeably at first: but the associating

(a) Tum primum lex Agraria promulgata est: nunquam deinde, usque ad hanc memoriam, sine maximis rerum motibus agitata. Liv. l. 2. n. 41.

of the Latines in the same advantage, soon dis- A.R. 268.
gusted them. Rabuleius, one of the Tribunes, Ant. C.
having asked the Consul Virginius in the assem- 484.
bly, what he thought of the law in question;
the latter replied, he would willingly consent
that the lands should be distributed among the
Roman People, provided the Latines had no share
in them. That opinion pleased the People high-
ly. Cassius saw himself thereby frustrated of his
hopes: for his view was to bring those People
into his interests, in order to attain his end by
their means, and the aid he expected from them;
besides which he perceived his credit greatly di-
minished with the populace. To regain their
favour, he represented to the Senate that it was
but just to reimburse out of the public treasury
the money, which the poorer citizens had paid
for the corn of which Gelo, King of Syracuse,
had made the Commonwealth a present during
the scarcity. Could one have believed it?
That (a) proposal, which in all appearance could
not but have been highly agreeable to the multi-
tude, gave them offence; because that largess
seemed the price with which Cassius was for
purchasing the tyranny, and in their misery they
thought slavery still more insupportable than
poverty.

The affair was however considered in the Se-
nate. Appius made a long speech, in which he
strongly opposed the Agrarian law, “ remon-
“ strating, that to support the people at the
“ expence of the public, was to make them
“ idle and slothful. He concluded that ten of
“ the principal Senators should be chosen, who

(a) Id vero haud secus, sitam regni velut abundarent
quam praesentem mercedem omnia, munera ejus in ani-
regni, aspernata plebes; a- mis hominum respuebantur.
deo, propter suspicionem in- L:v.

A.R. 268. " should be commissioned to visit the lands,
 Ant. C. " and to take a view of their boundaries ; and
 484 " if they found that private persons had usurped
 " any of them either by force or art, that they
 " should oblige them to restore them to the
 " Commonwealth : that part of those lands
 " should be sold ; and the rest should be farmed
 " out for five years ; and that the rents arising
 " from them should be applied to the uses of
 " the public. He added, that the People,
 " when they saw the unjust possessors of those
 " lands obliged to renounce them, and the re-
 " venues of them employed to just and neces-
 " sary purposes, would have no farther room
 " to complain."

When Appius had made an end of speaking, Aulus Sempronius Attratinus was desired to give his opinion. The latter, after having expatiated in praise of Appius, and come into his opinion concerning the choice of commissioners, continued : " That he thought it necessary, in the
 " present conjuncture, to conciliate the people
 " by distributing the lands in question, either
 " in general amongst all the citizens, or only
 " amongst those who had no land, or who had
 " but a very small income. That as for the
 " Latines, they ought not to have any share
 " in a distribution of lands acquired long be-
 " fore the freedom of the city was granted
 " them. And that it seemed proper to refer
 " the whole execution of this affair to the next
 " Consuls, the term of those actually in office
 " being upon the point of expiring."

The advice of Sempronius was followed in every respect, and the Senate decreed in consequence : " That ten of the most antient Sena-
 " tors of Consular dignity should be appointed
 " commissioners, who, after having taken an
 " actual

“ actual survey should determine the quantity
 “ of land which the Commonwealth might let,
 “ and that to be distributed amongst the citi-
 “ zens. That the creation of the ten commis-
 “ sioners, the distribution of the lands, and the
 “ other regulations in this affair, should be re-
 “ ferred to the succeeding Consuls.

SERV. CORNELIUS.

Q. FABIVS.

A.R. 269.

Ant. C.

483.

The next year, when Quintus Fabius and Servius Cornelius were Consuls, Cæso Fabius, the Consul's brother, and L. Valerius Publicola, who were Quæstors at the same time, and who, in virtue of their office, had power to assemble the People, cited Sp. Cassius to give an account of his conduct before them. An infinite crowd of citizens flocked to the Forum on the day of his trial. The two Quæstors accused Cassius of having taken secret measures for opening himself an assured way to the sovereignty; of having provided arms, and received money from the Latines and Hernici; and of having made a very great party amongst the most robust of their youth, who were continually seen in his train. All these points were proved by the undeniable evidence of many of the citizens, and that of the confederate cities.

The People suffered themselves to be convinced by their discourse, and gave no attention to the studied answers of Cassius. They conceived such an indignation against him from that instant, that neither their consideration for three of his children, the grief of his relations and friends, who appeared in great numbers to support him, the remembrance of his great actions
 by

A.R. 269.
Ant. C.
483.

by which he had raised himself to the first dignities, nor three Consulships and two triumphs, which had rendered him very illustrious, could mollify their anger, nor delay his condemnation one moment; so unpardonable a crime with the Romans was the slightest suspicion of aspiring at regal Power! They carried their resentment so far on this occasion, that without observing any measure or moderation in the quality of the punishment, they condemned the criminal to die. The People were afraid, that, if they contented themselves with banishing him, as he was one of the most able generals of his time, he might follow the example of Coriolanus, and by having recourse to the enemy, involve his country again in a bloody war. As soon as sentence was passed upon Cassius, the Quæstors carried him to the Tarpeian rock, which fronted the Forum, and threw him down from the top to the bottom in the presence of the whole people. This was the customary punishment for this crime amongst the Romans. The house of Cassius was demolished, and his estate sold by auction. With the money arising from it, a statue of brass was erected to Ceres. There are historians, who say, that his father, in consequence of the power of life and death, which fathers had at Rome over their children, condemned and put him to death. But the other account seems much the more probable.

Flor. l. 1.
c. 20.

*Factum
concerning
the dignity
of the
Dion. l. 5.
P. 547—
Liv. l. 2.
c. 41, 42.*

After the death of Cassius, the faction of the Great became more powerful and haughty, and rose in its contempt for the Plebeians. The latter, on the contrary, lost courage, and having no longer the zealous defender of their interests, they reproached themselves with the condemnation of Cassius, as an imprudence, and even an injustice.

injustice. The (a) charms of the Agrarian law, which was no longer counterpoised by odious suspicions, agreeably soothed their hopes. What also made an impression upon them, was the Consuls having neither executed the Senate's Decree for the distribution of the lands, nor the ten Commissioners being elected, who were to report to the Senate that part of the lands appertained to the People, and how much of them came to each man's share. They complained that the Senate did not act with sincerity, and accused the Tribunes of the preceding year, of having betrayed the interests of the People. Those who were then in office warmly demanded the execution of the decree.

These disputes between the Senate and People, and between the Consuls and Tribunes, will make a great part of our history for the time to come. We shall see troubles in the city, and wars in the field, succeed each other as a kind of perpetual alternative. These little wars were the usual resource of the Consuls, who, to give the continual complaints of the People diversion, drew them out of Rome, with the view that their troops might find a subsistence at the expence of the enemy, which would make them forget their ancient pretensions. But these perpetual wars rendered them still more untractable, and peace, in men of such haughty courage, quickly revived the discord which war had only suspended. These mutual broils will frequently recur. I shall abridge the accounts of them as much as possible, and shall relate only what appears the most curious and important, avoiding a strict detail of little circumstances.

(a) Dulcedo Agrarię legis ipsa per se, dempto auctore, subibat animos. Liv. c. 42

A. R. 269. and facts almost always of the same kind, which
 Ant. C. could not but disgust the reader.

483.

The Patricians were studious to keep up perpetually some difference with foreigners, in order that an occasion might never be wanting for some new expedition. The Veientes, Æqui, Volsci, and other neighbouring states, always supplied them with matter of this kind. The usual resource of the Tribunes was to oppose the levying of the armies : but after some resistance, they were at last forced to give way ; and the fear lest the Senate should create a Dictator, whose power was absolute, kept them in awe, and obliged them to desist from their opposition.

The Patricians had also another great advantage over the Plebeians. They were generally superior in the assemblies held by centuries for the election of Consuls, and took great care, that none should be chosen but those who were zealous for the interests of the nobility, often without its being in the People's power to traverse their choice, as happened the following year. Fabius, who was actually Consul, having defeated the Æqui and Volsci, sold the spoils taken from them, and laid up the whole money arising from them in the public treasury, without giving any part of it to the soldiers, which rendered the name of the Fabii very odious to the People.

Notwithstanding which, at the ensuing election, the Consuls were

A. R. 270.

Ant. C.

482.

L. ÆMILIUS.

CÆSO FABIVS.

The latter was one of Cassius's accusers.

The

The Æqui and Volsci were defeated by Æmilius. A.R. 270:
Ant. C.

The temple of Castor, vowed in the war^{481.} with the Latines by the Dictator Posthumius, was consecrated this year.

M. FABIVS.

L. VALERIUS.

A.R. 271.

Ant. C.

481.

The first was the brother of the two preceding Consuls of the same name, and the second one of Cassius's accusers. They endeavoured to make the levies for the war against the Veientes and Volsci. The Tribune Mænius opposed them, protesting that he would not suffer the Consuls to make any new levies till they had first of all created the ten Commissioners for the distribution of the lands. The Consuls, to extricate themselves out of this difficulty, had recourse to an expedient, which had never been employed before, and does not seem to me to have ever been repeated afterwards: this was to remove their Tribunal into the neighbouring country. They caused the citizens to be cited thither to list, who obeyed them no more than before: the Consuls fined such as refused, seized their cattle and plows, without its being in the power of the Tribunes to interfere, their jurisdiction not extending so far out of the city. This military execution reduced the People to return to their duty. The levies were made as usual: but this war had no consequences.

The Vestal Opia was convicted of having broken her vow of chastity, and suffered the usual punishment.

A.R. 272.
Ant. C.
480.

Q. FABIVS II.
C. JULIVS.

Liv. l. 2.
c. 43.

War with the Æqui and Veientes.

A.R. 273.
Ant. C.
479.

CÆSO FABIVS II.
Sp. FURIUS.

Dion. l. 9.
p. 553,
562.
• *Livy*
calls him
Lælius.

The Veientes and Æqui making incursions into the country of the Romans, the Consuls endeavoured to levy the troops to march against them. The Tribune * Icilius, crying out that the time was now come for passing the Agrarian law, prevented the citizens from lifting. The Senate were highly embarrassed with this opposition, and not knowing what to determine, Appius Claudius remonstrated, “ That the only means to put a stop to the proceedings of Icilius, was to oppose him by the other Tribunes; the opposition only of one of them being an invincible obstacle, as he was authorised by the laws to put a stop to all deliberations against which he protested. That the Tribunitian power could be weakened only by itself. That of the five Tribunes there would always be some one or other to be found, who would be glad, either through pride, jealousy, or zeal for the public good, to oppose the enterprize of a colleague, and to join the well-disposed citizens. That no doubt several of these might be found, if necessary, but that one sufficed for rendering the endeavours of all the rest ineffectual. That therefore the best conduct of the Consuls and principal Senators would be to spare no pains to bring over some one of the Tribunes, and to attach him to the
“ interests

“interests of the Senate and Commonwealth.”
 This counsel appeared very wise, as it really was, and was immediately put in execution. Four of the Tribunes declared against Icilius, and prohibited any farther mention of the Agrarian law, till the war should be terminated.

The armies were immediately levied. Fur-
 rius marched against the Veientes, who were
 afraid to face him, so that he made consider-
 able spoils throughout their country, which he
 had leisure to ravage universally. The good-
 ness which he shewed in dividing all the plun-
 der amongst the soldiers, exceedingly augment-
 ed the People's affection for him. The cam-
 paign being at an end, he led back his troops
 with no disgrace, and laden with spoils.

Cæso Fabius, the other Consul, had not the
 same good fortune, though he discharged with
 honour all the duties of an excellent captain.
 His troops even in the battle shewed how odi-
 ous the General that commanded was to them.
 He had put the Æqui to flight only with his
 horse. The infantry refused to pursue them,
 through fear of contributing to his glory, in
 supplying him with matter for a triumph. Nei-
 ther the exhortations of the Consul, the shame
 of so criminal a desertion, nor their own dan-
 ger, in case the enemy should return to the at-
 tack, could induce them to march forwards, or
 so much as to continue where they were posted.
 They retired hastily, and in disorder, to their
 camp, with sorrow in their countenances, as if
 they had been defeated, and venting impreca-
 tions sometimes against their General, and
 sometimes against the cavalry for having served
 him too well. The Consul had no thought
 of remedying so great an evil: so true it is,

A.R. 373. says Livy (a), that great men, and such as excel
 Ant. C. in other respects, more frequently want ad-
 479. dress to govern their citizens, than talents to
 conquer enemies. He returned to Rome, with
 little glory, and more than ever the object of
 the hatred and curses of the soldiers. The Con-
 sulship continued however in the family of the
 Fabii.

A.R. 374. M. FABIVS II.
 Ant. C. CN. MANLIUS.
 478.

Consider- These Consuls had a rude war to sustain
 able but against the Veientes. The intestine discord
 bility etc- which prevailed at Rome, gave the ene-
 my gain- my hopes that it would be easy to reduce
 ed over the its power with no great efforts. The principal
 Hetruri- persons of Hetruria incessantly represented in
 ans. all the assemblies, "That the division, of
 Dr. Ryf. which the wisdom of the Senate, and patience
 19 p. 362. of the People, had hitherto suspended the bad
 570. effects, was at length come to such an excess,
 Liv. l. 2. that Rome might be said to form two
 c. 44--47. cities entirely at variance with each other, of
 which each had its own laws and magistrates.
 That the rebellion had passed from the city in-
 to the camp, where it had put an end to all dis-
 cipline. That in the last campaign, the Ro-
 man soldiery, even in the midst of a battle, had
 abandoned their General, and notwithstanding
 his remonstrances and orders retired into their
 camp, and resigned the victory to the Æqui,
 after they had been defeated. That with no
 great efforts, Rome might be reduced by its

(a) Nec huic tam pesti- citius defuerit ars qua civem
 lentii exemplo remedia ulla regant, quam quâ hostem
 ab imperatore quæsitâ sunt: superent. Liv. l. 2. c. 43.
 adeo excellentibus ingeniis

OWN

own forces. That it was only necessary to make a shew of war, and that fate and the Gods would do all the rest." These discourses and hopes had armed all Hetruria.

In the mean time Rome had not been asleep. The Consuls, according to Appius's advice, had taken care to engage some of the Tribunes in their interests, by an obliging and insinuating behaviour. By their means the levies were made with success as the year before, notwithstanding the opposition of the rest. The army in consequence was soon on foot. The Consuls set out each with two legions, which Rome alone had supplied, and an equal number of the troops of the allies. The Latines and Hernici, of their own free will, sent twice the number of troops that were asked of them. The Romans did not think proper to employ them, without doubt through a principle from which they rarely departed afterwards, which was not to admit a greater number of allies or strangers, than there were citizens in their armies. After having thanked those allies for their fidelity and zeal for the service of the Roman People with great marks of gratitude, they dismissed the surplus of the troops. A third body, consisting of two legions, were formed out of the youngest soldiers, who had orders to encamp without the walls of Rome, for the defence of the country against any new and unexpected enemy. And lastly, those whom their age exempted from serving in the field, and who were still capable of bearing arms, remained in the city to guard it in case of insult.

The Consuls marched to Veii at the head of their army, and encamped upon two hills at no great distance from each other. The enemy on their side had numerous troops, and were en-

A.R. 274.
Anl. C.
478. camped before the city. All that were of any consideration in Hettruria had taken arms for this war. The very slaves had been lifted for it: so that the army of the Hettrurians was much more numerous than that of the Romans.

The superiority of the enemy's numbers did not perplex the Consuls, but they were anxious about the disposition of their own troops. The still recent remembrance of what had passed last campaign, kept them in great uneasiness. They therefore chose to continue in their camps, not to hazard a battle yet, and to protract the war as much as they could, in hopes that time and delay might mollify discontent, and bring back the soldiery to their duty. As the Romans passed many days in their camps without any motion, the boldest of the Hettrurians came up to the very gates to insult them. They called the soldiers women, and the generals cowards; challenging them, if they had any hearts, to come out and put their quarrel to the issue of a decisive battle: or if they had not courage to fight, to surrender their arms to the victors. They reflected upon the baseness of their origin, with which they said their conduct perfectly agreed.

These offensive reproaches, repeated every day with new insolence, gave the Consuls no pain, but stung the soldiers to the heart. They found themselves under two violent and quite different impulses of mind; the one indignation against the enemy, the other aversion for the Consuls and Senators. They could bear the outrageous insults of the Hettrurians no longer: but were at the same time unwilling to obtain a success for the Patricians, that would crown them with glory. These two opinions divided and engrossed them alternately. At length hatred for the strangers got the better. They came in crowds
to

to the Consuls tents, demanded to fight, and earnestly desired that the signal might be given. A. R. 274.
Ant. C.
478.

The Consuls conferred together, as if they were uncertain how to act. They deliberated long. It was much their desire to engage, but it was necessary to conceal it, in order to excite that of the soldiers the more by the delay itself and seeming opposition. Their answer was, that they were too hasty in their demand : that it was not time to fight yet; and that they should keep within their Camp. The Consuls declared, that whoever should fight without orders, should be treated as an enemy. This feigned refusal only served to inflame the ardor of the soldiers the more. The enemy having been informed, that the Consuls had chosen not to fight, became more insolent, and advanced haughtily to the works, saying a thousand injurious things against cowards, who were afraid to shew themselves in the field, and wanted very little of proceeding to attack the camp. The soldiers could suffer no longer contempts so offensive. They ran from all sides to the Consuls, not in small parties as before, but almost altogether, demanding with great cries to be led on to battle. The time was now come. However, some difficulty was still made. But Fabius at last, either thro' fear of letting that ardor cool, and come to nothing by a too long delay, or that the tumult might degenerate into a revolt, having caused silence to be made, addressed himself to his colleague as follows : *I know, Manlius, that these soldiers can conquer, but they themselves have reduced me to doubt whether they will or no. For this reason I am determined not to give the signal, till they have all sworn not to return from the battle, except victorious. They have once deceived the Consul : they will never deceive the gods. Amongst those*

A. R. 2-4. those who demanded the battle most eagerly,
 Ant. C. was one Flavoleius, a Plebeian by birth, who
 473. worked for his living, but was generally esteem-
 ed for his bravery. His merit had raised him to
 a distinguished post in one of the legions, in
 which he commanded as first captain, *Primipi-*
lus. He had under him sixty centurions and
 their companies, that is to say, all the centuri-
 ons of a legion, who were obliged by military
 law to take his orders and obey him. This
 Flavoleius advanced first, and swore thus to the
 Consul, holding up his sword drawn : *I engage,*
Fabius, never to return from battle except victori-
cus. If I break my oath, may Jupiter, Mars,
and the rest of the Gods, cause me to perish in their
anger. The whole army, by his example, swore
 the same.

The Consuls, full of confidence and joy after
 this oath, as if assured of victory, made the
 troops file off in good order, and drew them
 up in battle. The Hetrurians, surprized at this
 unexpected motion, made ready on their side,
 and advanced to meet the Romans.

The two armies faced each other, the trumpets
 sounded the charge, and the battle began. The
 horse and foot engaged at the same time on both
 sides. The slaughter was great, and the loss at
 first not unequal. The Romans on the right
 wing under the Consul Manlius pushed the ene-
 my's left with vigour, and the horse dismounted
 and fought a great while on foot. The left
 wing of the Romans began to be surrounded by
 the Hetrurians, whose flanks extended farther on
 that side. They sustained themselves however,
 notwithstanding the inequality of their strength,
 and the wounds to which they were open on all
 sides. Quintius Fabius, who had been twice
 Consul, and commanded the left wing at that
 time

time in quality of the Consul's lieutenant, made A.R. 274^{*} a vigorous resistance, though covered all over Ant. C. with wounds ; till receiving one from a lance, 478. he fell without any sign of life. This news being carried to the Consul M. Fabius, who commanded the main body, he sent for Cæso Fabius his own brother ; and taking with him the chosen battalions, he advanced beyond the right wing of the Hetrurians, which had surrounded his own left. He charged it with impetuosity, beat down and killed all before him, and obliged the most remote to fly. He found there his brother who was still alive, and raised him up with no other consolation than to receive his last breath. The soldiers, to avenge the death of so esteemed a general, threw themselves upon the Hetrurians where their ranks were thickest, and by the slaughter they made there, reinstated the left wing, and regained the advantage over those who had broke them.

Whilst this pass'd*, the right wing commanded by Manlius, improved continually its advantages against the Hetrurians. The enemy made but a faint resistance, and began to seek their safety only in their flight, when a javelin accidentally took Manlius at the knee, went through his thigh, and made him fall. He was immediately carried out of the press into the camp. The Hetrurians, who believed him dead, rallied and resumed courage. They were joined presently after by fresh troops, which augmented their confidence. They made the Romans give way in their turn, in the absence of their general. The Consul M. Fabius perceiving that disorder, quitted the left wing to go to the aid of

* *I have followed the sense rather than the words of Dionysius here.*

A.R. 274. the right with some squadrons of cavalry. He
 Ant. C. cried out to the troops, that his colleague was
 473. alive, and that as for himself he had put the
 left wing of the Hetrurians to the rout. The
 enemy who saw him advance with a considerable
 reinforcement, ceased to pursue those who fled,
 and drew up in order. Manlius returned at the
 same time, and placed himself again at the head
 of his troops. The sight of the two Consuls
 gave the Romans new courage. The battle
 grew hot again, and a great slaughter ensued
 on both sides.

At this instant a great detachment of the Hetrurians received orders to march to the Roman camp. They hastened thither with the greater joy, as they believed it ill guarded ; and they were not deceived. Only the * *Triarii* had been left to defend it with a small body of other troops. The rest of the people in it were sutlers, servants, and workmen. The Hetrurians took it without difficulty. But whilst they were more intent upon the plunder than fighting, they left the *Triarii*, who could not sustain their first charge, time to give the Consuls advice of what passed in the camp ; after which the *Triarii* renewed the fight of themselves with great vigour. Manlius flew immediately to their aid, entered the camp, planted guards at all the gates, and left the enemy no opening to retire through. Despair only made them fight with more fury. A body of the Hetrurians having fallen upon the Consul, whom they knew by the splendor of his arms, the Romans who surrounded him made a vigorous resistance at first, but could not long sustain so

* *The soldiers, who formed bravest but least numerous of the third line of the Roman the troops, were so called.*
arm, and were the oldest and

violent a charge. The Consul fell from his horse mortally wounded, and died in this action without being able to rise up, after having seen a great number of brave youth who had signalled themselves in his defence, perish around him. The Hetrurians, encouraged by this unexpected success, resumed new vigour, whilst the alarm became general amongst the Romans; and they had been in danger of being entirely defeated; if the lieutenants, after having carried off the body of the Consul, had not opened one of the gates of the camp for the enemy. They all made off precipitately through that gate, but fell into the hands of the other Consul, who was come up to the aid of his colleague, and who cut almost all of them to pieces. Fabius returned victorious immediately to support those who fought in the plain, and completed the defeat of the enemy.

The Romans had never fought a more considerable battle, as well for the number of the combatants, as the length of the action, and the vicissitude of events. The army consisted of twenty thousand foot, the very flower of the Roman youth, and of twelve hundred horse; with an equal number of the troops of their colonies and allies. The battle begun before noon, and did not end till sun-set. Victory was long in suspense between the two armies, and seemed only to declare for the Romans by the conduct of the Hetrurians, who decamped and retired the night following.

When the army returned, the People were for rewarding the Consul's victory with the honour of a triumph. But he did not believe it consistent with decency to appear in that pompous ceremony with a crown upon his head, in the midst of his brothers obsequies, and those

A.R. 274. of his colleague. (a) The refusal of a triumph
 Ant. C. did him more honour than any triumph could
 478. have done : so much does a proper neglect of
 glory sometimes exalt it.

He afterwards paid the last honours to the two illustrious dead, whose loss Rome lamented. He pronounced their funeral oration himself, and set the glorious actions of both in full light, without saying a word of his own. The just praises which he gave them, reflected partly upon him, and the more as he seemed to forget himself in them. In effect of the plan, which he had formed from the commencement of his Consulship, which was to reconcile the People with the Patricians, he distributed the wounded soldiers into the houses of the Senators, and most into those of the Fabii : and they were drest nowhere else with so much care. From thenceforth the Fabii became popular, but by methods entirely legitimate and salutary to the Commonwealth. The Consulship in consequence continued still in that Family, as much to the satisfaction of the People as that of the Senate.

A.R. 275.

Ant. C.

477.

CÆSO FABIVS III.

T. VIRGINIVS.

*Unhappy**defeat of**Fabii near**Cremera.*

Dion. l. 8.

p. 170—

583.

Rome, under these Consuls; had several wars to sustain, less dangerous than troublesome, against the Æqui, Volsci, and Veientes. To put a stop to the incursions of the last, it would have been necessary to have established a good garrison upon their frontiers to keep them in awe. But the Commonwealth, exhausted of money, and

(a) Omni acto triumpho pore gloria, interdum cum
 depositus triumphu clarior mulatio redit! Liv.
 fuit. Adeo, sprete in tem-

menaced

menaced by abundance of other enemies, was A.R. 275.
not in a condition to provide for so many diffe- Ant. C.
rent cares and expences. The family of the Fa- 477.

bii shewed a generosity on this occasion that has no example. They applied to the Senate, and by the mouth of the Consul, demanded as a favour, that they would be pleased to transfer the care and expences of the garrison necessary to oppose the enterprizes of the Veientes to their house, which required an assiduous rather than a numerous body, promising to support well the honour of the Roman People in that post. Every body was charmed with so noble and unheard of an offer, and it was accepted with great acknowledgment. The news immediately spread over the whole city, and nothing was talked of but the Fabii. Every body praised, every body admired and extolled them to the skies. *If there were two more such families in Rome, said they, the one might take upon them the war against the Volsci, and the other against the Æqui, whilst the Commonwealth remained quiet, and the forces of particulars subdued the neighbouring states for it.*

Early the next day the Fabii set out, with the Consul at their head, robed in his coat of arms. Never was there so little numerous, and at the same time so illustrious any army seen: I speak here upon the authority of Livy. Three hundred and six soldiers, all Patricians and of the same family, of whom not one but might be judged worthy of commanding an army, marched against Veii full of courage and alacrity under a captain of their own name, Fabius. They were followed by a body of their friends and clients, animated with the same spirit and zeal, and actuated only by great and noble views. That troop amounted to about four thousand men. The whole city flocked to see so fine a sight, praised those

A.R. 275. those generous soldiers to the skies, and pro-
Ant. C. mised them Consulships, triumphs, and the most
477. glorious rewards. As they passed before the Capitol and the other temples, every body implored the gods to take them into their protection, to favour their departure and undertaking, and to afford them a speedy and happy return. But those vows were not heard.

When they arrived near the river Cremera, which is not far from Veii, they built a fort upon a very rough and steep mountain for the security of the troops, which they surrounded with a double fossé, and flanked with several towers. The Consul afterwards marched his troops into the country of the Veientes, where he took considerable spoils. This settlement, which prevented them from cultivating their lands, and ruined their commerce with strangers, incommoded them extremely. The enemy not daring to appear kept within their towns, or only quitted them by stealth.

A.R. 276.
Ant. C.
476.

L. ÆMILIUS II.
C. SERVILIUS.

The Veientes not finding themselves strong enough to ruin the fort which the Romans had erected, had recourse to the Hetrurians, who sent them very considerable aid. The Consul Æmilius was charged with this war: his colleague with that against the Volsci: and the * Proconsul Furius marched against the Æqui. The latter had a speedy success. Servilius by too much precipitation and confidence in charging the enemy was defeated. Æmilius, having found the army of the Veientes posted before Veii, and sup-

* This is the first mention made of a Proconsul in the Roman history.

ported by the auxiliary troops of the whole nation of the Hetrurians, attacked them vigorously without loss of time, put them to flight with great slaughter, and took their camp, where he found sufficient spoils to reward and enrich his troops. The Veientes, wearied out with the evils they had suffered, sent deputies to Æmilius to treat of peace. The Consul, having been empowered by the Senate to that effect, concluded a treaty immediately, without depriving them of the least part of their territory, without exacting any sum of money to make the Romans amends for the expences of the war, and even without obliging them to give hostages for their observance of their engagements. This excessive indulgence was ill received at Rome; and the Senate in consequence refused him the honour of a triumph. Enraged at this affront, he went over to the Plebeians, accusing the Senate of endeavouring to prolong the war, to avoid the distribution of lands, which they had been so long made to expect in vain; and as if he had been absolute master, he dismissed the troops upon his own authority, and had no thoughts but of keeping up the division between the People and Senate. In the mean time the Fabii continued in their fort.

C. HORATIUS.
T. MENENIUS.

A.R. 277.
Ant. C.
475.

The other eleven States of the Hetrurians, who had not been consulted by the Veientes concerning the treaty of which we have just spoke, assembled, and made it a crime in the latter to have concluded a peace with the Romans without their participation. The war therefore began again. The dissension, which was again

A.R. 277.
Ant. C.
475.

set on foot concerning the levy of troops, occasioned a delay of preparations. During this interval, the Fabii, encouraged by the great success of their incursions into the enemy's country, made farther progress every day. Their excessive boldness made the Hetrurians conceive thoughts of laying ambuscades for them in several places. During the night they seized all the eminences that commanded the plain, and found means to conceal a good number of troops upon them. The next day they dispersed more cattle about the country than they had done before. The Fabii being apprised, that the plains were covered with flocks and herds, and defended by only a very small number of troops, they quitted their fort, leaving in it only a sufficient number to guard it. The hopes of a great booty quickened their march. They arrived at the place in order of battle, and were preparing to attack the advanced guard of the enemy, when the latter, who had their Orders, fled without staying till they were charged. The Fabii believing themselves secure, seized the shepherds, and were preparing to drive away the cattle. The Hetrurians then quitted their sculking places, and fell upon the Romans from all sides, who were most of them dispersed in pursuit of their prey. All they could do was to rally immediately; and that they could not effect without great difficulty. They soon saw themselves surrounded on all sides; and fought like lions, selling their lives very dear. But finding that they could not sustain this kind of combat long, they drew up in a wedge, and advancing with the utmost fury and impetuosity, opened themselves a passage through the enemy, that led to the side of the mountain. When they came thither, they halted, and fought with fresh courage,

rage, the enemy leaving them no time to respire. A R. 277.
 As they were upon the higher ground, they de- Ant. C.
 fended themselves with advantage notwithstanding- 475.
 ing their small number, and beating down the
 enemy, who spared no pains in the attack, they
 made a great slaughter of them. But the Veientes
 having gained the top of the mountain by
 taking a compass, fell suddenly upon them, and
 galled them exceedingly from above with a continual
 shower of darts. The Fabii defended
 themselves to the last breath, and were all killed
 to a man.

Some say, that after the death of the three
 hundred and six Fabii only one infant of the
 whole Family remained, called Q. Fabius Vibulanus.
 This is Livy's opinion, and that of many other
 writers after him. But Dionysius Halicarnassensis
 refutes it, and demonstrates that it is an error by
 very strong proofs. And indeed, supposing it true,
 none of the three hundred and six Fabii, of whom
 the garrison of Cremera consisted, must have been
 married, which was contrary to the laws; or none
 of them must have left either children under the
 mother's wing, wives with child, or brothers that
 were not of age to serve, which is not less remote
 from all probability. On the other side it is certain
 from the Consular calenders (*Fasti*) that all the
 Fabii who after appear in history, were the
 descendants solely of this Q. Fabius Vibulanus,
 who was three times Consul, and one of the
 Decemviri: * which occasions a very considerable
 difficulty.

* The system of Perizonius that but a very few of them
 might recieve this contra- were of the Fabian family,
 ition. He imagines, that the and that the rest were their
 garrison of Cremera here in clients. Periz. Animad. Hist.
 question, consisted only of three c. 5.
 hundred and six soldiers in all,

A.R. 277.
Ant. C.
475. The Roman people were highly affected with the loss of the Fabii. The day of their defeat was ranked amongst their unfortunate days, called *nefasti*, on which the tribunals were shut up, and no public affair could be negotiated, or at least concluded. The memory of these illustrious Patricians, who had so generously sacrificed themselves for the service of the state, could not be too much honoured. A like zeal and devotion for one's country never was known at all.

The defeat of the Fabii was soon followed by that of the Roman army commanded by Menenius. The Hetrurians, flushed by their victory, advanced towards Rome, where they occasioned a great alarm. Horatius, the other Consul, was recalled from the country of the Volsci where he commanded, marched with the utmost expedition to the aid of his country, and by several advantages which he gained over the enemy, delivered it from the extreme danger it was in. The Hetrurians however continued masters of Janiculum.

A.R. 278.

SP. SERVILIUS.

Ant. C.

AUL. VIRGINIUS.

474.

Dion. l. 9.

P. 583 — The Hetrurians repaid the Romans at this time all the damages they had sustained from the Fabii. Janiculum was their fort, from whence they ravaged all the flat country. Servilius gave them battle with disadvantage, and escaped with his army only by the immediate aid brought him by his colleague, in effect of which the Hetrurians were entirely defeated.

Menenius

is tried.

Peace abroad always made way for domestic troubles. All the endeavours of the Senators could not prevent Menenius, who had been Consul the year before, from being brought to a trial.

trial. Two of the Tribunes cited him to give A.R. 278.
an account of the ill success of the Roman ar- Ant. C.
my under his command, and of the disgrace it 474.
had sustained. The loss of the Fabii, and the
taking of Cremera, were particularly laid to his
charge; and the People almost unanimously
condemned him in the assembly by Tribes (*Co-*
mitia Tributa) though he was the son of that
Menenius Agrippa, who had brought back the
People after their retreat to the Sacred Moun-
tain, and reconciled them to the Patricians.
The sentence extended only to a fine, but by
the event became sentence of death. Menenius, *About 5 l.*
condemned to pay two thousand *asses*, a consi- *sterl.*
derable sum in those times, died soon after of
grief on account of such usage from his country.

C. NAUTIUS.

A.R. 279.
Ant. C.

P. VALERIUS.

473.

As soon as Servilius quitted his office, he was
summoned before the People by two of the
Tribunes to justify himself in respect to the de-
feat of the army, of which he had been the
cause. The Senators were seriously alarmed up-
on this occasion, and considered the danger of
Servilius as their own. They stirred in the af-
fair extremely, set all their friends and clients at
work, and conjured the People not to condemn
a man, whose only crime was having been un-
fortunate, and not to expose the commonwealth
to the unhappy consequences that threatened it,
in case its generals were made responsible for
events, and the want of success was to cost them
so dear. When the day of trial arrived, Servi-
lius appeared, and defended himself with the air
of modesty that became a man in the presence
of his judges, but at the same time with the
constancy and resolution of one who did not

A.R. 279. Ant. C. 473. believe himself criminal. (*a*) He was as intrepid before their tribunal as he used to be on a day of action in the face of the enemy. He was neither seen exciting their compassion, deploring his misfortune, descending to mean prayers, nor shewing the least sign of weakness and dejection. He even reproached the People with the abuse they had made, in the case of Menenius, of a power for which they were indebted to the father of that illustrious person. This generous assurance, far from offending the People, pleased them exceedingly. Virginus, who had been Consul with him, and to whom they believed themselves obliged for the victory, not only defended him against all reproach, but gave him a share in the honour of the success. *Servilius acquitted* Servilius was unanimously acquitted, and declared innocent. The advantageous testimony of his colleague was a powerful motive with the People to absolve him: but their shame for having condemned Menenius, made a still greater impression upon them in favour of Servilius, so much was their disposition changed in regard to the former.

There were some successful expeditions this year against the Hetrurians, Veientes, and Sabines, which acquired Valerius the honour of a triumph.

A.R. 280. Ant. C. 472.

L. FURIUS.
C. MANLIUS.

A truce of forty years was granted to the Veientes.

The Consuls strongly opposed the instances made by the Tribunes for appointing com-

(*a*) *Fervidi animi vir, ut in publico periculo antè, sic tum in suo. Liv.*

missioners

missioners for the inspection and distribution of lands, according to the scheme formed and accepted many years since. A.R. 280.
Ant. C.
472.

L. ÆMILIUS.

OPITER VIRGINIUS, or VOPISCUS, JULIUS. A.R. 281.
Ant. C.
471.

Foreign wars being terminated, the domestic diffentions broke out more fiercely than ever. There was at that time amongst the Tribunes a bold man, of sufficient eloquence, named Genucius. As he saw that all the methods, which had hitherto been employed, had produced no effect, he conceived a new one, which was to prosecute the Consuls of the foregoing year, by citing them before the People, to give an account why they had not created the Decemviri for the distribution of lands, according to the Senate's decree to that effect. (This decree of the Senate had been passed twelve years.) The accused, in the extreme danger wherein they saw themselves, set every thing in motion. They addressed themselves principally to the younger Senators, and the more effectually to interest them in the affair, they advised them
 “ to renounce the honours and government of
 “ the Commonwealth from thenceforth; to con-
 “ sider the fasces of the Consuls, the purple
 “ robe, and Curule chair, only as the pomp of
 “ their Funerals; and to remember well, that
 “ they were only adorned with all those marks
 “ of dignity like victims for the altar. That
 “ if the Consulship had however some attrac-
 “ tion for them, let them reflect, that it re-
 “ tained only the name, and that the power of
 “ the Tribunes had entirely enervated its effi-
 “ cacy. That the Consul, like one of the Tri-
 “ bune's Serjeants, could only act at their plea-
 “ sure,

A.R. 281. “ sure, and according to their orders. That
 Ant. C. “ if they entertained any thoughts of throw-
 471. “ ing off those chains, of giving the helm to,
 “ the Senate, or considering any authority in
 “ the Commonwealth but that of the People,
 “ they ought to set before their eyes the banish-
 “ ment of Coriolanus, the condemnation and
 “ death of Menenius, and to expect the same
 “ fate themselves.”

The Senators, animated by this discourse, held assemblies, not in publick, but secretly and by stealth. As it was concluded in them, that the accused were to be saved at any price whatsoever, the most violent counsels were relished most ; and there did not want persons to undertake any thing.

When the day of trial arrived, the People repaired in throngs to the Forum, in anxious expectation of what was to pass there. At first they were surpris'd, that the Tribune delayed coming so long. As some time passed, and he did not appear, that long delay began to give suspicion. It was believed that the Senators had prevailed upon him to renounce his enterprize, and that either gained by their promises, or intimidated by their menaces, he had abandoned and betrayed the cause of the public. At length, those who remained at his door in expectation of his coming abroad, came and told the assembly that he had been found dead * in his house. On that news, the People, trembling and terrified, dispersed on all sides, like an army that had lost their General. But

* *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* adds, that there was no any manner : but *Livy* marks of violence upon him manifestly supposes that the Senators were the authors of his death, which gave reason to believe he had been assassinated, stran-

the Tribunes were more particularly seized with dread, the death of their colleague instructing them how weak a security the sacred laws were for them. The Senators on their side took no care to moderate their joy, and gave themselves up to it without bounds, and contrary to all decency; saying openly, that nothing but an extraordinary blow could subdue the Tribunitian power. The Consuls, with a triumphant air and tone, immediately decreed the levies, which were made without resistance, the Tribunes, being inexpressibly dejected and terrified.

This timorous silence and cowardly inaction exasperated the People more than the imperious conduct of the Consuls. Every one said,
Violent troubles at Rome.
 “ That there was an end of liberty : that they
 “ were fallen again into their ancient state :
 “ that the power of the Tribunes was dead and
 “ buried with Genucius. That it was necessary
 “ to have recourse to other measures, and to
 “ see what barrier could be opposed to the
 “ violence of the Senators. As the People
 “ were now without support, the only choice
 “ they could make, was to defend themselves
 “ by their own strength. That the Consuls had
 “ no other force nor guard, but twelve Lictors,
 “ Plebeians themselves, a weak and contempti-
 “ ble aid, if they knew how to despise them.”
 By such discourses they animated each other.

C H A P. III.

Volero causes a law to be passed very contrary to the authority of the Senate. The army suffers itself to be defeated by the Volsci out of hatred to Appius, who causes it to be decimated. The other army serves Quintius against the Æqui with ardor. Appius is cited before the People: he dies before sentence is passed against him. New troubles.

A.R. 281.

Ant. C.

471.

*Volero causes**a law**to be p. sed**very con-**trary to the**authority**of the Se-**nate.*

ONE Publilius Volero, of a Plebeian family, a man of courage, and known by his great actions in war, had been a captain in former campaigns. The Consuls, instead of lifting him as an officer, were for reducing him to serve under them in quality of a private soldier. Believing himself dishonoured by a rank beneath what he had held, and having nothing to reproach himself with in the service that could authorize such an affront, he openly declared his discontent, and refused to obey. The Consuls, offended at his resistance, and the freedom with which he maintained his rights, caused him to be seized, upon which he called out to the Tribunes. None of them moving, nor daring to aid him, the Consuls ordered the Lictors to strip and scourge him with rods. Volero then said, *I appeal to the People, as the Tribunes choose rather to see a citizen unjustly scourged before their eyes, than to be strangled in their beds.* The more he cried out, the more eager the Lictor was to strip him. Volero was in the vigour of life and very robust. After having struck the Lictor roughly in the face, he threw him down, and did as much by a second, who came to his assistance. Having extricated

extricated himself in that manner out of their hands, he joined the crowd where he saw it in the greatest ferment and indignation, crying out: *I appeal to the People; I implore the protection of the People; stand by me, citizens and comrades. You have nothing to expect from the Tribunes: they have occasion themselves for your aid.* The fire spread among the People. They prepared as for a battle; and it was most evident that every thing was upon the point of being carried to the utmost violences, without regard either to birth, age, or dignity. The Consuls having attempted to oppose this storm (a), found by experience, that the majesty of their office was but a feeble support without force. Their Lictors were beaten, the fasces broke to pieces, and themselves driven out of the Forum into the Senate, uncertain how far Volero would carry his victory.

The tumult being appeased, the Consuls assembled the Senate, and warmly complained of the bad treatment they had received from the violence of the People, and the audacious insolence of Volero. The Patricians, who considered this insult of the Consuls as the subversion, and annihilation of the magistracy, were for having him, who had presumed to lay violent hands upon the Lictors, thrown from the Tarpeian rock. The Plebeians, on their side, who could not suffer any attempts against their liberty, demanded justice against the Consuls, for the indignity with which they had treated a citizen, merely for calling upon the Tribunes for their assistance. This private cause of Volero became that of the publick to such a

(a) *Experti sunt parum tutam sine viribus majestatem esse. Liv.*

A.R. 281. gree, that the dispute concerning the distri-
 Ant. C. bution of the lands was forgot, and nothing
 471. talked of but privileges and liberty. The di-
 vision growing hot on both sides, all the rest of
 the year past in contests, and nothing remark-
 able was done either at home or abroad.

A.R. 282.
 Ant. C.
 472.

L. PINARIUS.
 P. FURIUS.

One of the Vestals, convicted of a criminal commerce, is put to death in the usual manner.

Volero, who the year before had so vigorously asserted the interests of the People, was rewarded for his zeal, and deemed worthy of a place amongst the Tribunes. As soon as he entered upon office, he assembled the People. It was believed, that to avenge himself on the two Consuls of the foregoing year who had used him oppressively, he was going to attack them, and to cite them to a trial: But he carried his views farther. He turned his whole resentment against the entire body of the Senate, and undertook to deprive them of the credit they had in the election of the Tribunes, in causing it to be ordained, that instead of being chosen in the assemblies by *Curiae*, as had been the custom till then, they should be elected in the assemblies by *Tribes*. The principal difference of these assemblies was this. The *Curiae* were certain parts of the city, to the number of thirty, which had each their peculiar place, where they assembled to sacrifice, and for other acts of religion, almost like our parishes. For calling them altogether, it was necessary that the Senate should pass a decree, and that their deliberations should be preceded by auspices, which
 the

the Augurs, Patricians by birth, often interpreted according to the views and interests of the Senate. Only the inhabitants of Rome had a right to vote in this assembly; after which a new decree of the Senate was necessary for confirming what had passed in it. For all these reasons the Patricians had a great sway in the *Assemblies by Curiae*, or *Comitia Curiata*. But it was otherwise in the *Assemblies by Tribes*. They were called without the permission of the Senate, and without consulting the auspices. All the Roman citizens who composed the Tribes, as well the Inhabitants of the city as those of the country, were equally admitted to give their suffrages in them; and as the common people (*plebs*) were infinitely superior to the Patricians in number, and the voices were collected by the head, they were always arbiters of affairs in these *Comitia Tributa*. Their ordinances which were called *Plebiscita*, were not submitted to the examination of the Senate.

Volero, in order to pass the law he meditated, had engaged two of the four other Tribunes; and the two that remained, thought they did not second him, did not however formally oppose him. But the Consuls, Senate, and all the Patricians made the utmost resistance. The disputes were carried so far, that night came on, and the assembly was obliged to break up without coming to any resolution. The affair, which of itself admitted great difficulties, took up much time; and a plague which happened, and raged exceedingly throughout all Italy, and particularly at Rome, suspended the execution of it till the year following.

Volero was created Tribune for the second time, as were the two others who had the same views

A.R. 282.
Ant. C.
470.

A.R. 283. views with him. The Patricians, on their side,
 Ant. C. prepared to oppose them with vigour by elect-
 470. ing for Consuls.

A.R. 283.
 Ant. C.
 469.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS.

T. QUINTIUS.

The first of these Consuls was the son of Appius Claudius the declared enemy of the Plebeians, and he was no less so than his father. He was raised to the Consulship contrary to his refusal and resistance, which he carried so far as to absent himself from the election; but he was however chosen in his absence. T. Quintius Capitolinus was given to him as his colleague, a person of as mild and moderate a disposition, as the other was hot and violent; in hopes that his consuls and example might soften what was too proud and haughty in the manners of Appius.

When the affair in question was brought again upon the carpet, it was in the month that Quintius presided in the administration: so that the other Consul could act nothing without his consent. Volero added a new article to his law, which was, that the creation of Ædiles, and all the deliberations in general wherein the People's interests were concerned, should be terminated in the assemblies by Tribes. This was entirely to subvert the power of the Senate, and transfer it into the hands of the People.

The Consuls upon being apprized of this enterprize, were much in pain for the measures it was necessary to take to prevent its effect. Appius was for the most violent methods. But his colleague proposed treating the People with moderation and reason, by endeavouring to make them sensible, that their simplicity was abused, and that the pernicious consuls given them had

no other tendency, than to make them act with A.R. 283.
imprudence and to their prejudice. The Senate Ant. C.
relished this advice. Quintius having obtained 469.

permission to speak to the People, made so wise, so wary, and so solid a discourse, that it was received with the applause of the whole assembly, and reduced his adversaries, long prepared in favour of the law, to an incapacity of saying any thing reasonable for passing it. In a word, his success was so compleat, that, if his colleague had not spoiled all he had done by his usual haughtiness, the People, convinced of the injustice of their cause, had absolutely rejected the law. But Appius made a discourse full of bitterness and gall, sparing neither invectives nor the most offensive terms of any kind, which served only to exasperate the Plebeians anew, and to revive their aversion for the Senate.

“ He reproached them in a manner disagreeable even to the Senate, and detestable to the People, upon their first desertion to the Sacred Mountain, and the institution of Tribunes, which he said had been extorted from the Senate only by a declared revolt, and menaces of a civil war. That it was no wonder a tribunal formed by sedition should produce nothing but discord and tumults, which would never end but with the total destruction of the Commonwealth.” And he concluded with a stroke that irritated the People most sensibly. It was, “ That Rome would never want causes of division as long as they did not go to the bottom of the evil, and suffered the power of the Tribunes to subsist.”

Lætorius, a man of known valour in battle, and a no less warm defender of the law than Voloero, undertook to answer Appius. He strongly expatiated upon the latter's pride and insolence ;

A.R. 283.
Ant. C.
469.

lence; he flew out against his family as the declared enemies of the Plebeians; and insisted upon the great services the People had rendered the state in all times. His words not coming from him so freely as he would have them, which is no wonder in a military man: *As I do not speak, Romans, with so much ease as I act*, said he, *come hither to-morrow; and I will either pass the law, or die here in your presence.*

The assembly was more numerous than ever, every body expecting the issue with dread and anxiety. Lætorius commanded the Forum to be cleared of all who had not a right to vote, and as some of the young nobility refused to obey, he ordered them to be seized. The Consul Appius opposed it, pretending that his power extended only to the Plebeians. The Tribune sent his serjeant to seize the Consul himself, and the Consul his LiCTOR to seize the Tribune, crying with a loud voice, that the Tribune was only a private person who had no right to command, and was not a magistrate. The whole People rose in defence of their Tribune with such violence, that a bloody conflict would have ensued, if Quintius had not given orders to fetch his colleague out of the assembly either by his consent or force. He then endeavoured to mollify the People, employing the most pathetic and warm entreaties, and conjured the Tribunes to dismiss the assembly, representing to them, “ That a delay of
“ some hours would not diminish their strength
“ in the least, and would only increase it by reflection and counsel: that perhaps the Consul
“ would comply with the desires of the Senate,
“ and the Senate with those of the People:
“ that the shortest and most certain means for
“ passing the law, would be to refer the decision of it absolutely to the Senate, who no
“ doubt, in effect of that mark of confidence

“ and amity, would be the more easy in abating
 “ something of their rights.” The proposal
 was agreed to.

A.R. 283.
 Ant. C.
 469.

The Consuls immediately assembled the Senate. When they began to deliberate, as they were extremely warm, nothing was heard but passion, fear and anger dictating all they said. But that first heat abating by degrees, and giving way to reflection, the more they proceeded with cool blood, the more averse they sensibly became to violent measures; so that Quintius was thanked for having pacified the people, and suspended discord by his wisdom and address. On (a) the other side, they conjured Appius not to carry his zeal for the rights and dignity of the Consulship farther than consisted with the present condition of affairs, and the peace of the state. That whilst the Consuls and Tribunes were tearing every thing to themselves, the state was left helpless and impotent between them, and each side seemed less intent upon the safety of the Commonwealth, than upon making themselves its masters. Appius, always untractable and obstinately tenacious of his opinion, called gods and men to witness, “ that they
 “ abandoned and betrayed the Commonwealth
 “ thro’ abject fear: that the Consul was not
 “ wanting to the Senate, but the Senate to the
 “ Consul: and that they were going to accept
 “ more pernicious laws, than those of the Sa-
 “ cred Mountain.” However, acquiescing in the unanimous authority of the Senate, he re-

(a) Ab Appio petitur, ut tantam consularem majestatem esse vellet, quanta in concordi civitate esse posset. Dum Tribuni Consulesque ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse virium in medio: distractam laceratam-que Remp. per magistratus: magis quorum in manu sit, quam ut incolumis sit, queri. Liv.

A.R. 233. maintained quiet, and the law was passed with the
 Ant. C. consent of both orders. From thenceforth the
 469. assemblies for the creation of Tribunes and
 Ædiles were held without consulting the Senate,
 without taking the auspices, or observing any
 religious ceremony that required the ministra-
 tion of the Patricians, who were then solely in
 possession of the priesthood.

The historian Piso, cited here by Livy, says,
 that it was on this occasion three additional Tri-
 bunes were created; their number having hither-
 to been only two. But this is neither Livy's
 own opinion, nor that of Dionysius Halicarnas-
 sensis.

Dion. l. 7. p. 605, 606.
 Liv. l. 2. c. 58, 60. The domestic troubles being appeased, the
 armies marched against the enemy abroad. Ap-
 pius was sent against the Volsci, and Quintius
 against the Æqui. Their success answered the
 character of the two generals.

*The army
 suffers it-
 self to be
 defeated by
 the Volsci,
 out of la-
 ziness, who
 can do no
 better.* Appius's cruelty was the same in the army as
 it had been in the city, and he gave himself up
 to it with the greater liberty, as he was under
 no restraint from the opposition of the Tribunes.
 He shewed an hatred for the Plebeians, by
 whom he had been overcome, that rose still
 higher than that of his father. He foamed with
 rage to think, that a law, suspended, and pre-
 vented from passing by preceding Consuls,
 from whom not much was expected, had passed
 under him, who had been elected Consul only
 to oppose it. This secret vexation that engroß-
 ed and preyed upon him, induced him to tor-
 ment his army with every kind of ill treat-
 ment, without being able by those violences to
 get the better of the soldiers, who were deter-
 mined to mortify him, and had entered into a
 kind of conspiracy, not against his life, but his
 glory.

glory. The troops, in a manner mutinous, acted in all things with negligence, slowness, indolence, and a spirit of revolt. If Appius ordered the army to march with expedition, they moved slow on purpose. If he exhorted them to forward the works, every thing slackened that instant. When he was present, all held down their heads, as hating the sight of him: as he passed by, all wore the aspect of tacit detestation; so that his haughty spirit, insensible till then to the hatred of the People, seemed sometimes confounded and disconcerted. Having exhausted his ill-nature in vain against the soldiers, he thought fit neither to concern himself nor speak any more to them. He said, that the Centurions had corrupted the army, and to mortify them by a raillery wherein his own disgust spoke itself, he sometimes called them Tribunes of the People, and Voleros.

The Volsci were ignorant of nothing that passed in his army; for which reason they made all possible haste to come to a battle, expecting that the troops would certainly act in regard to Appius, as they had done before in respect to Cæso Fabius. But they carried things still farther. Under Fabius they contented themselves with resolving not to conquer: now they went so far as to resolve to be conquered. As soon as they were led on to battle, the enemy no sooner appeared, but they shamefully fled to their camp, and did not stop till they saw the Volsci preparing to force their intrenchments. They were then forced to fight; but it was plain, that it was solely to prevent the victor from taking their camp, and to let their general see, that they could have conquered if they would. For the rest, their defeat and disgrace gave them pleasure.

A.R. 233.
Ant. C.
469.

The pride, or more properly, the ferocity of Appius continued still the same without any diminution. He summoned an assembly, determined to vent his rage upon the whole army. The Lieutenant generals and Tribunes repaired to him, and exhorted him not to put his authority to hazard at a wrong time, and to remember that its whole force depended on the consent of those who obey. That the soldiers said loudly, they would not go to the assembly, and that many of them demanded that they should decamp from the lands of the Volsci. Conquered by necessity, he gave orders to march away the next morning, and accordingly gave the signal at day-break. The same served also the Volsci, who charged the rear-guard with great vigour. Terror and tumult spread universally, and reached the most advanced troops, so that neither the orders of the commanders could be heard, nor the troops be drawn up in battle. None thought of any thing but escaping, and the enemy gave over the pursuit before the Romans ceased to fly.

When the soldiers were out of the enemies country, and were drawn together again, the Consul, who had followed them, calling upon them in vain to do their duty, summoned the assembly. He reproached them strongly and with great reason, with their perfidious cowardice and criminal treason. He asked the soldiers and ensigns, what was become of their arms and colours? After having caused the Centurions, who quitted their ranks, to be scourged with rods, he ordered their heads to be cut off, and decimated the rest of the army: that is to say, out of ten, one, to whose lot it fell, was put to death. By this method,

method (a), whilst the punishment fell upon A.R. 283.
 few, the terror reached all. When this bloody Ant. C.
 execution was over, Appius, the object of the 469.
 public hatred, returned to Rome with the sad
 and shameful wrecks of his army.

Things passed very differently in the other *The other*
 army in respect to Quintius. Charmed with *army*
 his kindness and equity, the troops were all obe- *serve*
 dience to his orders, and confronted the greatest *Quintius*
 dangers with joy, without wanting exhortations, *with zeal*
 through zeal for their general, and the desire *against the*
 they had of pleasing him and acquiring him *Æqui.*
 glory. The Æqui in consequence dared not
 shew themselves in the field. Quintius ravaged
 the greatest part of their country, and made a
 great booty. He gave it all to the soldiers, ad-
 ding praises to that gift, to which they are no
 less sensible than rewards. The army returned
 to Rome with the warmest sentiments of affec-
 tion and tenderness for their general, and on
 his account in a manner reconciled to the whole
 order of the Patricians. They said, that the
 Senate had given them a father to command
 them, and to the other army a cruel master.
 What a difference is here between man and
 man! both however of great merit in other
 respects, and of distinguished valour. Humour
 and passion, we cannot too often repeat it,
 spoil the most excellent qualities, and render
 them not only useless, but often even pernicious.

(a) Statuerunt ita majores animadverteretur, ut metus
 nostri, ut, si à multis esset videlicet ad omnes, poena ad
 flagitium rei militaris admis- paucos perveniret. Cic. in
 sum, fortitione in quosdam Orat. pro Cluent. n. 128.

A.R. 284.
Ant. C.
468.

L. VALERIUS II.
TIB. ÆMILIUS.

*Appius is
cited be-
fore the
People: he
dies before
sentence is
passed.*

Dion. l. 9.
p. 606—
615.
Liv. l. 2.
c. 61.

Under these Consuls the Tribunes brought the Agrarian law again upon the carpet, and applied to the Senate, where they made their remonstrances with abundance of respect and moderation. The Consuls, to avoid reviving ancient feuds, made no opposition, and contented themselves with asking the advice of the principal Senators. L. Æmilius, one of the Consul's father, spoke first, and strongly supported the demand of the Tribunes, proving by several reasons that it was just in itself, and beneficial to the public. Appius, tho' he well foresaw to what he exposed himself, incapable of being restrained by fear, when he believed, that he had justice on his side, maintained the contrary opinion with abundance of force, and brought over the majority to his opinion.

The Tribunes, highly incensed at the refusal they had received, thought of nothing but avenging themselves upon the author of that disgrace. They cited Appius before the People, to give an account of his conduct, and to answer to several heads of accusation laid to his charge. Never did a more hateful criminal appear before the People. He brought with him to their tribunal all the grievances objected to his father, besides those committed by himself. Nor ever did the Patricians interest themselves so warmly, nor use so many endeavours to save one of their order: for they saw with extreme grief the assertor of the Senate, the avenger of the Consular dignity, and the invincible bulwark of their rights against the attacks of the Tribunes, given up to the rage of the People,

and

and that only for having a little exceeded the bounds of moderation in the heat of dispute. A.R. 284.
Ant. C.
468.

Appius was the only one of all the Senators, that regarded the Tribunes, the People, and the judgment they were going to pass, as nothing. The Patricians, terrified by the danger in which they saw him, endeavoured in vain to persuade him to take some measures for his own safety, to give way for a time to the storm, and to appease the multitude by a conduct suitable to his present situation. This was knowing him little. He rejected with contempt such proposals as unworthy of him. Far from changing either his habit or countenance, and from appearing as a suppliant before his judges; he could not prevail upon himself, even in making his defence, either to abate any thing of his usual haughtiness, or to soften the sharpness of his stile in the least. He retained the same outside in every thing, the same air of confidence, the same loftiness of aspect, and the same force in his speech: so that the greatest part of the People were no less awed by him when cited before them as a criminal, than they dreaded him before when Consul. He pleaded his cause once, always in the same tone, that is to say, rather as an accuser, than an accused: and he amazed the Tribunes and People so much by his resolution and constancy, that they could not help putting off the judgment to another day. Before that day arrived, according to some authors, he died of disease; but others say, he put an end to his own life. His son demanded permission to pronounce his father's funeral oration, which the Tribunes opposed. The (a) People, more equi-

(a) Plebs fraudari solenni tam æquis auribus mortui honore supremum diem tantum audiit, quam vivi accusationis viri noluit: & laudationem nem audierat. *Liv.*

A.R. 284.
Ant. C.
468. table, could not suffer so great a man to be deprived of an honour so justly his due. They heard his praise after his death with as favourable an ear as they had heard his accusation during his life; and assisted at his funeral in a body.

During the seven or eight following years, history presents us only with some inconsiderable wars against the neighbouring people, and perpetual enemies of Rome: the Æqui, Sabines, and Volsci.

A.R. 285.
Ant. C.
467.

T. NUMICIUS PRISCUS.
A. VIRGINIUS.

New troubles.

The multitude, who believed themselves oppressed by the great, to express their resentment on that account, absented themselves from all the assemblies by centuries, in which the noble and rich had the principal authority. The Plebeians seemed to intend to separate themselves again from the body of the Commonwealth. None of them appeared at the election of Consuls for the following year; and what had never happened before, they were raised to that dignity only by the votes of the Senate, Patricians and their Clients, who, notwithstanding these divisions, continued always attached to their patrons.

A.R. 286.
Ant. C.
466.

T. QUINTIUS II.
Q. SERVILIUS.

The Romans take the city of Antium from the Volsci.

TIB. ÆMILIUS.

A.R. 287.

Q. FABIVS.

Ant. C.

465.

This Fabius, according to Dionysius Halicarnassensis, was the son of one of the three brothers of that name killed at Cremera; which is certain from the Consular calendar, or *Fasti Capitolini*. Livy calls him the only one of that family who did not perish that unfortunate day: which admits of great difficulties. The only surviving Fabius according to him was not fifteen at that time, *prope puberem*. From that defeat to the present time, only ten years are elapsed. Did the Romans choose Consuls of five and twenty? There is indeed one example of this kind long after in the person of Valerius Corvus, who was elected Consul at three and twenty years of age: but that seldom happened. On the other side, had any Fabius besides this remained, would it be possible that none except this and his descendants should attain honours? Now all the Fabii mentioned in the sequel descend from the Consul of this year. I leave these difficulties to be cleared up by the learned.

Dionys.

l. 9. p.

615--626.

Liv. l. 3.

c. 1—8.

Liv. l. 7.

c. 27.

The Tribunes during this Consulship began their intrigues again in respect to the Agrarian law. To frustrate their effect, the Senate granted the People part of the lands taken the last campaign from the Antiates. When the Plebeians were to give in their names to the Triumviri, appointed for the establishment of that colony, few Plebeians offered themselves. Rome had too many charms for its inhabitants, and nobody was willing to quit it. Games, shews, publick assemblies, the hurry of affairs, the People's share in the government, every thing

A.R. 287. conspired to keep the citizens there, how poor
 Ant. C. soever he might be. A colony was considered as
 465. an honest banishment; and (a) the most miserable
 of the Plebeians chose rather, on this occasion,
 to live in indigence at Rome, and to wait there
 the uncertain distribution of lands with which
 they had so long been flattered, than actually
 to possess them in a rich colony. The Senate
 therefore, to compleat the colony, were obliged
 to permit the Latines and Hernici to have a
 share in the privilege.

A.R. 288.
 Ant. C.
 464.

Q. SERVILIUS II.
 SP. POSTUMIUS.

A.R. 289.
 Ant. C.
 463.

Q. FABIVS II.
 T. QUINTIVS III.

The *Census* or muster of the citizens capable
 of bearing arms, was taken this year at Rome.
 The number amounted to an hundred and twen-
 ty-four thousand two hundred and fourteen.
 This was the ninth *Census*.

(a) Fecit statim, ut sit, tundo poscere Romæ agrum
 fastidium copia: pauci nomi- malle, quam alibi accipere.
 na dedere—Cetera multi- Liv. l. 3. c. 1.

End of the First Volume.

